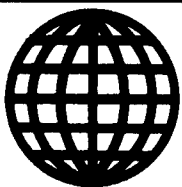


1 JUNE 1989



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Political Affairs

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Ukrainian CP 1987 Budget Summed Up
18000975 Kiev POD ZNAMENEM LENINIZMA
in Russian No 7, Apr 89 pp 65-66

[Ukrainian CP Central Committee Administration of Affairs Department report: "On the Ukrainian CP Budget"]

[Text] In their letters to the editor our readers frequently ask the following question: What does the Ukrainian CP budget consist of, and how is it utilized? We have printed below the information supplied to the editors by the concerning the handling of the budget by the republic-level party organization for the year 1987.

The Ukrainian CP budget—a component of the CPSU budget—finished the year 1987 with revenues of 102.3 percent and expenditures of 100 percent of the planned totals. As was also the case in previous years, it was drawn up and carried out without any subsidies from the CPSU budget.

The revenues of the republic-level party organization's budget consist of receipts from party membership dues, deductions from the profits made by the publishing houses of the party organs, and miscellaneous receipts. Moreover, the main revenue item consists of the membership dues, which in 1987 amounted to 192.2 million rubles. Their proportion within the total revenues amounted to 70 percent.

Matters of the on-time and correct payment of party dues are constantly within the field of vision and at the center of the practical activity of the Ukrainian CP organizations, and this facilitates the strengthening of discipline among the communists, increasing their responsibility for observing the requirements of the CPSU Charter.

Expenditures on maintaining the party organs and party institutions of the Ukrainian CP amounted to 222.3 million rubles. Moreover, approximately 87 percent of all the party budget expenditures were financed by means of receipts of party membership dues.

Funds from the party membership were used to maintain 25 party obkoms and the Kiev party gorkom, as well as 702 city and rayon party committees; 35 houses of education of the party committees, 1090 offices of political education, including 421 in primary party organizations; 26 courses for upgrading the skills of party, soviet, and ideological personnel; the Institute of Party History under the Ukrainian CP Central Committee—a branch of the Marxism-Leninism Institute under the CPSU Central Committee, the Kiev Higher Party School; 25 party archives; the Kiev and Lvov Branches of the V.I. Lenin Central Museum; 68 universities of Marxism-Leninism and their branches. More than 9,000 primary party organizations maintained "freed-up" employees.

Within the total sum of expenditures of the Ukrainian CP party budget for maintaining the apparatus of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee apparatus, providing for its activity, official business trips, conducting plenums, conferences, and other measures amounted to 3.5 percent.

The principal portion of the party budget funds—206.3 million rubles, or 92.8 percent, was channeled into maintaining the local party committees and their institutions. Of this sum, 140.6 million rubles were spent on maintaining the party organs, including their economic support and financing the organizational work conducted by them, as well as maintaining the "freed-up" employees of the primary party organizations. Outlays on propagandistic and mass-political work came to 9.6 million rubles, and on training and retraining party, soviet, and ideological employees—4.9 million rubles. There were 1,424 students enrolled in the full-time and correspondence divisions of the Kiev Higher Party School, and 21,610 persons enrolled in its faculty for upgrading skills and the oblast-level, permanently functioning courses.

About 56 million rubles were spent on erecting administrative buildings of party committees and party institutions, party publishing houses, the repair or rooms used by party committees and party institutions, along with housing construction.

By means of receipts from party membership dues and the profits of party publishing houses, the following party organizations completely reimbursed their outlays and made their contributions to the Ukrainian CP budget: the Voroshilovgrad, Dnepropetrovsk, Donetsk, Zaporozhye, Kiev, Crimean, Lvov, Odessa, Kharkov oblast, and the Kiev city party organizations. The remaining 16 oblast party organizations received subsidies from the Ukrainian CP budget.

Expenditures for maintaining the Party History Institute under the Ukrainian CP Central Committee—a branch of the Marxism-Leninism Institute under the CPSU Central Committee, as well as the Kiev and Lvov branches of the V.I. Lenin Central Museum amounted to 1.3 million rubles.

The Ukrainian CP Central Committee, the Ukrainian CP Auditing Commission, the party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, and the auditing commissions of the oblast, city, and rayon party organizations exercised systematic monitoring controls over economies in and the targeted use of funds from the party budget.

The republic's party organs have drawn practical conclusions from the decree adopted in 1986 by the CPSU Central Committee regarding the results of verifying

implementation of the party budget of the KiSSR republic-level party organization. Financial and staff discipline were strengthened, and responsibility was increased for the correct and thrifty expenditure of party funds.

During the accounting period in the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, as well as in the republic-level party institutions, as well as in the local party organs, the funds distributed from the budget were spent in accordance with the approved allocations. On all items a savings of funds was achieved for the Ukrainian CP as a whole amounting to 4.7 million rubles.

Nevertheless, during the course of the check-ups, we noted certain shortcomings in the outlay of funds for office, postal, and telephone expenses, telephone maintenance, and inter-urban negotiations. Not all party committees have instituted the proper procedures in utilizing motor-vehicle service transport; several of them exceeded the limit for motor-vehicle mileage.

In a number of party organizations we discovered substantial shortcomings in the matter of the on-time and correct payment of party membership dues.

Having examined the report concerning the implementation of the party budget for 1987, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee assigned the party obkoms and the Kiev Party Gorkom the task of profoundly analyzing the state of affairs re the payment of party membership dues and of taking additional measures to institute the proper procedure here, as well as increasing the responsibility for observing the norms of party life, strengthening financial discipline, along with the thrifty and economical expenditure of party funds.

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Kazakh CP Secretary Davletova on Socioeconomic Development

18300575 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 21 Apr 89 p 2

[Interview with L. Ye. Davletova, secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of its Commission on Socioeconomic Development, conducted by KazTAG Correspondent V. Akimov, under the rubric "Preparing for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum: Improving Internationality Relations": "In the Interests of All and of Each"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text]Through the efforts of the party and the people as a whole it has been possible to halt the country's slide toward crisis and to begin to create an atmosphere of genuine democracy and glasnost everywhere, and to orient Soviet people toward the accelerated solution of the large and small problems that have accumulated in every sphere

of society's life. And this has already started to yield good fruits. Evidence of them can be seen in the significant positive changes that have occurred in Kazakhstan's socioeconomic development.

In the past three years in the republic national income has risen by nearly 6 percent, and the production of consumer goods has increased by 14 percent. Urban and rural working people have received about 1.5 million square meters of housing above plan, and the food supply has significantly improved.

However, these are average accomplishments for the republic as a whole. In addition to oblasts and rayons that have made significant changes for the better, there are also a good many that have been marking time or have not made fast enough progress. That means that in such places there are somewhat fewer consumer goods, nutrition is somewhat worse, and there are far fewer housewarmings.

Therefore, among other tasks, the republic faces the pressing task of eliminating disproportions in its spheres of economic, social and cultural development, as well as existing disproportions among oblasts and rayons, and of raising those that lag behind up to the level of the leaders in as short a time as possible. All measures aimed at the accomplishment of this task are being coordinated by the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee's Commission for Socioeconomic Development.

In a conversation with a KazTAG correspondent, the commission's chairman L. Ye. Davletova, secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, talked about the difficulties that have arisen in the course of this work and the ways of overcoming them.

[Correspondent] First of all, Lyudmila Yelmatovna, I would like to know what the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee considers to be most pressing for the oblasts and rayons that are lagging behind?

[Davletova] Such zones of the republic generally face similar problems: a weak economic potential or a predominant orientation toward the production of raw materials, extremely slow social and cultural development, and the steady deterioration of the environmental situation. This pertains primarily to 71 rayons with a predominantly Kazakh population, where the lag is felt most keenly.

The commission has thoroughly analyzed the situation in every oblast and rayon that require accelerated socioeconomic development, and it has drawn up practical recommendations. They provide for progress in practically every sphere of societal life in those places. And especially in those spheres where the situation requires prompt changes.

Moreover, all measures to even out the levels of development should be carried out in a coordinated fashion, with an effort to make changes in each sector. Otherwise, the irrational use of manpower and money, and the emergence of new disproportions are inevitable.

[Correspondent] One cannot fail to note one general pattern: it is precisely in the oblasts and rayons that are lagging behind that one finds the greatest population that is unemployed in the sphere of social production, especially in the republic's South and West.

[Davletova] That is mainly associated with one-sided economic development. In which oblasts and rayons is the manpower surplus felt most keenly? As a rule, in those where reliance has been placed mainly on the production of raw materials and semimanufactures. This applies equally to industrial and agricultural zones.

The problems is that the extractive industry, which accounts for the greatest proportion of the republic's industry, guarantees employment mainly for a relatively limited number of highly skilled specialists and workers. Moreover, the union executives of many of its branches have not shown any particular inclination to make use of Kazakh labor resources. In particular, in the regions where the Tengiz and Karachaganak petroleum deposits are being worked, young people often cannot get work even after acquiring the appropriate specialty: it is more advantageous for the ministries and departments involved to draw manpower from outside the republic, relying on the so-called tour-of-duty [vakhtovaya] method, than to create all the conditions in those places for the local population to live a normal life. And changing the state of affairs has required repeated appeals to the USSR Council of Ministers.

However, as experience shows, without the proper scientific studies, it is impossible to solve the problems of the harmonious development of the Caspian Petroleum and Gas Complex. Therefore, this December it is planned to hold a visiting session of the general meeting of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences in western Kazakhstan. Of course, the questions of the comprehensive development of this region's productive forces, of environmental protection in connection with the intensive exploitation of underground resources, and of improving the local population's well-being will be the primary topics of discussion at the session.

As for the agroindustrial complex, as we know, it is capable of providing a substantial portion of the population only with seasonal work, and it can by no means provide such work to everyone who wants it, at that.

Information obtained in the course of a sociological study in the Kzyl-Orda region of the Aral Sea is typical. Thus, among persons who do not take part in socially useful labor there, 85 percent are women. And almost every one of them does not want to limit her range of

occupations to family concerns. However, local housewives go for years without being able to find work in either the countryside or the city: usually there either is none close to home, or many of them cannot find work in their specialties. Moreover, their search for work is complicated by the overcrowding of children's preschool institutions.

[Correspondent] Yet all that needs to be done is to properly channel some of the free manpower into the processing of industrial and agricultural raw material, and the problems of the job shortage will largely be solved. At the same time, there will be more foodstuffs and consumer goods.

[Davletova] Without a dependable processing base at the local level, we won't arrange the year-round supply of diverse foodstuffs. Look at what happens, for example, to vegetables. In the process of their sale alone in the republic, losses amount to one-third, and think how much, besides that, never even reaches the stores. In Chimkent, Guryev, Kzyl-Orda, Ural and a number of oblasts, where absolutely ideal conditions exist for growing garden crops, an increase in their production is being held back precisely because of the lack of local processing facilities.

Things are not much better with the sale of livestock, which sometimes lose nearly one-fourth of their weight, or even more, on the way to the meat-packing combine. Fundamental changes are needed here. Powerful refrigerators, roomy warehouses and canning shops are needed.

Hence it is no accident that the problems of decent nutrition are acute in many of the republic's zones that are lagging behind. Suffice it to say that in the Aral region, according to the data of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences' Institute of Regional Problems, the population's animal-protein requirements are being met by only 45-50 percent of the norm, while requirements for vitamins A and C are being met by even less: 7-20 percent of the norm.

Or take consumer goods. In areas that engage in the initial processing or extraction of raw materials, such goods are still practically not produced at all. Therefore, suppliers have to be sought literally throughout the entire country. But is it conceivable to obtain an adequate assortment and quantity when the oblasts and rayons that fall under this category require practically everything—from nails and shovels to complex consumer appliances—from outside? So it turns out that the chronic shortage has not declined for years. Moreover, in connection with a growth in requirements and consumer purchasing power, that shortage has even increased in some places.

[Correspondent] But what is the way out of the situation?

[Davletova] The main way lies in the structural reorganization of Kazakhstan's industry. We need to establish a stable and planned situation in which the end results of production grow faster than the intermediate results, the "extraction-processing" cycle is consistently completed everywhere, and the research-intensive branches of industry are intensively developed. The processing branches of the agroindustrial complex, light industry, and the machinery industry should undergo priority development.

This, incidentally, is already supported by the appropriate union officials and has been expressed in the general plan for the development and siting of the country's productive forces for the 13th Five-Year Plan and the period up to 2005.

Thus, in Guryev Oblast there are plans to establish production facilities for the processing of casinghead gas, and a large chemical complex, and to build enterprises for the production of polymer materials and petroleum-refining equipment. In Ural Oblast production will increase of machinery products oriented toward the manufacture of consumer goods and the processing of agricultural raw material. By 2005 these oblasts will produce 12.2 percent of the republic's industrial output, as against 7.7 percent in 1990.

In Kokchetav Oblast priority is being given to the accelerated development of the machinery and metal-working industries. The agroindustrial complex there will also undergo further development through the expansion and reconstruction of existing enterprises and construction of new enterprises in the food industry.

In order to expand facilities for the production of consumer goods at an intensified pace, existing production facilities are being reconstructed, and subsidiaries are being opened of enterprises located in the republic's industrial centers. For example, in the cities of Aralsk and Kazalinsk and the settlement of Chiili in Kzyl-Orda Oblast, the capacity of garment factories will grow by 17.5 million rubles' worth of output, and the capacity of footwear factories will grow by 2.5 million pairs.

The establishment of a factory in the city of Karatau, Dzhambul Oblast, will add 3 million pairs of shoes, and the expansion of subsidiaries of the local garment factory promises to substantially increase garment production. In addition, in that region of the republic a plant for the processing of hides and skins is to be built jointly with India.

More than 80 light-industry enterprises are to be built throughout Kazakhstan as a whole, mainly in small cities and large rural communities. This does not count 115 industrial complexes allocated to the republic by the USSR Council of Ministers. The installation of them in regions where there is a labor surplus began last year using prefabricated buildings made of light metal structures and so-called modules. But unfortunately, their

start-up is being seriously held up because of the failure of the Guryev, Kzyl-Orda, Dzhambul, Semipalatinsk and Chimkent oblast ispolkoms, as well as the State Committee for Construction Affairs, the State Agroindustrial Committee, the ministries of light industry and local industry, and a number union enterprises, to act promptly and efficiently.

[Correspondent] Nonetheless, you have to say that the scope of work is impressive. Is it providing any palpable fruits yet?

[Davletova] There have been changes—sizeable changes—for the better. Since the beginning of the five-year period, the republic's industry has produced 1,000,200,000 rubles' worth of various goods above plan. During this same time, the per capita sale of consumer goods in Kazakhstan has risen by 86 rubles, and total paid services have risen by 28 percent.

But what has been done is far from sufficient. The population's effective demand remains unsatisfied. And of course, this is especially true in the oblasts and rayons that are lagging behind.

[Correspondent] What is the stumbling block here? What sort of braking factors are having the greatest effect?

[Davletova] First of all, the fact that the industrial giants under union administration simply do not want to bother themselves with the manufacture of consumer goods, although much of their capacity is not being properly utilized. On the other hand, republic-level enterprises, which, incidentally, account for only about 6.5 percent of Kazakhstan's industrial production, are clearly incapable of saturating the market with everything that is needed. About 60 percent of consumer goods are still shipped in from outside of Kazakhstan.

All sorts of attitudes of dependency also get in the way. For example, that is the only way one can evaluate the situation in the settlement of Chiili, Kzyl-Orda Oblast. A subsidiary of a footwear factory was built there, but to this day it has been impossible to fully utilize its capacity. It turns out that no concern for training local inhabitants in new specialties was shown when it should have been. The situation is no better at construction sites in Guryev, where almost every project has been unduly dragged out because of a shortage of manpower. Yet the villages of the northern Caspian region have a good many people without permanent work.

But in places where self-reliant, creative and enterprising executives stand at the helm of local government, the changes are steadily growing. New reserves, potential and approaches are being tapped and tried that previously simply went unnoticed. An example of this is the attitude taken toward the expansion of consumer-goods production by the executives of party, soviet and economic-management agencies in Pavlodar Oblast.

Large enterprises under union administration there are developing the production of technically complex consumer appliances and equipment—washing machines, centrifuges, and trailers for passenger cars. The Pavlodar Chemical Plant has shown especially great initiative and creativity in resolving the questions of expanding the assortment of consumer goods. In particular, the production of water-soluble paints, liquid bleach for Belizna [Whiteness] linens, and motor oil for passenger cars has been doubled to tripled in its shops. At the same time, extensive work is being done to develop the production of new types of cosmetic products. Thus, Diona shampoo has been produced since last December, and Zhen-shen [Ginseng] lotion has been produced since early this year. In addition, the plant has been working jointly with plants belonging to the Belgorod Vitamin Complex, an aluminum plant, and Hungarian partners to develop a program for the production of women's cosmetics utilizing mother-of-pearl.

Republic ministries and departments in entirely unrelated branches have also started making a considerable contribution to increasing the production of consumer goods. For example, employees of the republic Ministry of Highways have shown initiative and a businesslike approach that are worthy of imitation. Last year alone they increased the production of consumer goods by 70 percent by expanding the assortment and putting new types of consumer goods into production. Now the branch's enterprises produce more than 80 different types of goods: children's games, an array of sports equipment, heating units, vegetable containers, etc. The ministry has also taken a new approach to the problems of providing additional services. Various highway and automotive service facilities are being created on the republic's main highway arteries, as well as on the exit routes from oblast centers. About 100 rest areas and a large number of parking lots, service stations, cafeterias and showers have already been opened.

The experience of employees of the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Highways' wood-processing combine, managed by V. Ya. Gamer, also merits widespread adoption. The combine managed in the shortest possible time to set up the production, out of by-products, of components for the construction of orchard cottages and housing. Moreover, the enterprise has a large subsidiary farm from which every employee receives 48-56 kg of meat and a considerable amount of milk and healthful quail eggs every year. The matter of setting up a fur farm where fox, polar fox and mink will be raised is now being worked out. The combine plans to sell part of them to Finland and use the foreign currency it earns to acquire highly productive wood-processing equipment. The rest of the fur will go for making products for its own employees and for retail sales.

This is why people who have already shown their ability to work in an unconventional way are increasingly being put up for executive positions in the republic. Consequently, such anomalous situations as those in Chiili are becoming increasingly infrequent in the republic.

[Correspondent] By extracting coal, oil and the ores of various metals from under Kazakhstan's ground, enterprises under union administration receive immense profits. Even a small part of them would be sufficient to solve the most pressing problems in many regions.

[Davletova] Unfortunately, the central ministries and departments for the most part continue to do everything possible to avoid direct participation in accelerating the socioeconomic development of zones where their production subdivisions are located. Suffice it to say that in 1988 the profits of enterprises under union administration approached 2.6 billion rubles, while only about 50 million rubles was transferred to the republic's budget.

Local management agencies and republic officials do not want to and cannot continue to tolerate such practice, and they are starting to do "battle" with narrowly departmental interests. And in all of their just endeavors they receive the complete support of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

At the same time, the regions and zones that are being raised up are now being granted most-favored status, as it were, by the republic ministries and departments, which are trying, within their abilities, to meet their needs as fully as possible. To a certain extent the redistribution of resources on Kazakhstan-wide and oblast-wide scales, and within the limits of individual cities and rayons is helping out here. In particular, the Karaganda Metallurgical Combine and the Karagand-augol [Karaganda Coal] Association have taken a valuable initiative in assuming sponsorship of the oblast's local industry. Equipment they have purchased abroad will make it possible to substantially increase the production and quality of garments, and to set up the processing of sheepskins and the production of tanned sheepskin coats.

However, in order to accomplish such a difficult and long-term task as evening out the levels of socioeconomic development and of financial and material resources, incomparably more is needed.

That, in part, was the topic of discussion at the end of March at a meeting of the Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, which examined a set of measures for accelerating the development of a number of remote regions of Kazakhstan that are particularly far behind in social respects. One problem is that in most of them health-care, consumer-service and trade facilities, children's preschool institutions and schools, and houses of culture are located in poorly suited buildings that are often in a state of serious disrepair. As a result—a low living standard, extremely high levels of infant and maternal mortality, and a generally high incidence of disease. Therefore, in order to change things radically, a decision was taken to provide emergency aid to such regions in 1990 and in the 13th Five-Year Plan.

While giving priority attention to raising up the rayons and oblasts that are lagging behind, the further improvement of the socioeconomic development of the republic's remaining regions and zones must not be forgotten, either. In this connection, efforts are continuing to strengthen the social sphere in Karaganda, Pavlodar, East Kazakhstan and other oblasts that are more or less well-off in this respect. A vivid illustration of this is the progress that has been made in implementing the Housing-91 program throughout Kazakhstan as a whole.

Nonetheless, it must be admitted that the reorientation of the economy toward predominantly social development must be carried out much more intensively in the republic. And what is equally important—it must be carried out everywhere without exception. Take, for example, the Housing-91 program. Where are its assignments not being fulfilled? Usually precisely in the cities and villages where the shortage of living space is most acutely felt. Thus, in Dzhezkazgan and Kzyl-Orda oblasts, last year's plan for work to be done through the local soviets was barely fulfilled by 50 percent. The situation there in the first quarter of this year was not improved, either. And that means that hundreds of families of the rural intelligentsia and war and labor veterans failed to receive new apartments. Incidentally, for almost all of them this source of improving their housing conditions is, to all intents and purposes, the only source.

Medical service, which in a number of places is being improved at a downright snail's pace, is a cause for special concern. This is the reason for high infant and maternal mortality and the undiminishing incidence of tuberculosis, brucellosis, and other infectious diseases.

And how could the health-care situation in the regions and zones that are lagging behind be otherwise when, say, in four rayons in the northern Caspian region there are no hospitals whatsoever, and in many other rayons medical institutions are located in ramshackle and makeshift buildings? As for the health-care facilities that are being built, it is with good reason that the local population calls them "bearded": almost every one of them has been under construction for two to three times as long as planned.

This also fully applies to the spheres of consumer services and cultural life. In most of the so-called out-of-the-way places there are no normal libraries and clubs, and the only form of spending leisure time in a cultured way is the cinema, which, moreover, only operates on an occasional basis.

Children prove to be especially hurt. For example, in kindergartens and nurseries in Aktyubinsk, Semipalatinsk, Ural, Chimkent and Dzhambul oblasts they often sleep two to a bed. In those oblasts every other school is located in a makeshift building, and in some of them classes are held in three shifts.

Furthermore, the situation is continuously being complicated by various environmental troubles.

[Correspondent] Relations with the union ministries and departments and their local enterprises really cannot be called fair. However, economic ties with the union republics are far from being fair, either. Consequently, a substantial amount of money is lost that could significantly influence the course of all work to even out the levels of development of oblasts and rayons.

[Davletova] It is true that such ties are still not distinguished by genuine equality: some republics are mainly oriented toward the processing of raw material, while the lot of others, like Kazakhstan, is to extract and produce it. And the prices for raw materials, semimanufactures and end products simply cannot be called scientifically substantiated.

The conclusion is obvious: Measures must be adopted to finally get all the existing untapped reserves and potential in Kazakhstan put to work to accelerate the socioeconomic development of the oblasts and rayons that are lagging behind. Here one can no longer go any further without a radical revision of the republic's economic relations with all of its partners in the all-union division of labor.

And a start has been made on this with the draft "General Principles for Restructuring the Management of the Economy and Social Sphere in the Union Republics on the Basis of Expanding Their Sovereign Rights, Self-Government, and Self-Financing." Published in the press for nationwide discussion, this draft has aroused tremendous interest in the republic, as in the country as a whole.

In such an important matter as improving the management of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics, there is not and cannot be any sort of ultimate truth or universal yardstick for all regions. And it is gratifying that reliance here is being placed on a collective search for a mutually acceptable position, and on the deepening and enriching, through common efforts, of the basic approaches that have been defined in the years of restructuring. This manifested itself in the course of working on the draft itself: along with representatives of the other union republics, people from Kazakhstan also took part in this work. Many proposals by our specialists—with which, incidentally, I fully agree—were taken into account. The closer study of the provisions that have been submitted for nationwide discussion will show what else should be included in the draft in the interests of Kazakhstan and the country as a whole.

Tajik First Secretary Speech at CPSU CC March Plenum

18300543 Dushanbe *KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA*
in Russian 22 Mar 89 p 1

[Speech by K.M. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik CP Central Committee: "Matters of Fundamental Importance"]

[Text] Comrades!

Today we are discussing vitally important matters, defining the basic directions of our country's agrarian policy for the upcoming period, and ways of solving the food problem. The positions and conclusions set forth in the report by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev require the adoption of immediate and necessary measures. The prepared drafts of the four documents involved encompass the solution to the major problems of the country's agro-industrial complex, and we support them.

At the same time, I would like to dwell on certain matters which are of fundamental importance for Tajikistan. The first draft decree regarding improvement of the country's food provisioning speaks about satisfying the population's demand. Together with the optimal consumption amounts within the evolving nutritional structure for milk and other dairy products during the years 1991-92, as well as meat and meat products during the period 1994-95, it provides a supplement which outlines bringing the per capita consumption of food products in the country up to certain specific amounts in the years 1990, 1995, and 2000. There is also a further supplement which indicates the production volumes of foodstuffs by the various republics. We cannot dispute these figures, nor do we have the right to do so, for our republic ranks last in per capita consumption of meat and meat products, milk and other dairy products. That which is outlined is very little in comparison with what is needed.

Suffice it to say that the draft provides for bringing per capita consumption of meat products in 1990 up to 32 kilograms, as compared to 70 for the country as a whole, and meat products up to 164 kilograms, as compared to 370 kilograms for the country as a whole. And this is not by random chance: the demographic situation is such that the increase of food products is equal to or lags behind the population increase. On the other hand, the per capita amount of land being irrigated amounts to only 0.11 hectares, whereas virtually no new lands for irrigation are being introduced by the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources (because of the problems of the Aral Sea).

It's certainly true that the provisions in the decree on the direction, in the first place, of finances and material resources for modernizing and qualitatively improving lands under irrigation are of great economic importance for the country as a whole and for us in particular. But they will not ease our difficult situation due to the shortage of land in our republic. Yes, the Aral Sea must be saved. But we must also do every thing possible not to exacerbate the needs of our republic's population of 5 million for food products.

For many long years the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, along with its planning and scientific organizations have been conducting work on creating water-conservation technology and manufacturing special equipment. But, it may be asked, where is this equipment? Why is nobody producing it in the necessary amounts? We have learned how to develop

orchards and vineyards on unirrigated land with sufficient water, and now such land is being utilized by an enormous number of farms. Production of grapes and other fruit on unirrigated land will be increased, and sharply at that. New farms are being created here. But vegetables, potatoes, and fodder-type crops under our conditions grow primarily on irrigated lands.

Because we understand all the complexity of the situation, we reduced the water-consumption norms per unit of production last year, and in two rayons we introduced payment fees for water consumed in excess of the calculated norms. It must be said that the effect was positive. Beginning with the current year, this set-up will be introduced everywhere throughout our republic. I mention this because we must approach the problems of introducing new lands in a differentiated manner, taking into account the situation which has evolved. In short, for our republic the matter of increasing the areas to be irrigated is vitally important. And the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources must not delay but rather accelerate the pace of introducing new lands for irrigation, and particularly by means of economizing on water.

Furthermore, in order to solve the problem of foodstuffs, we must make certain structural changes in this republic's agro-industrial complex. The fact of the matter is that it's impossible to attain the pace necessary to increase food production while maintaining the existing level of cotton growing, which has reached 75-85 percent. Out of 565,000 hectares of irrigated, arable land, approximately 320,000 are sown in cotton. And, as before, there is not enough land for the needs of the agro-industrial complex.

Moreover, cotton growing itself has turned out to be in a difficult position. Cultivating cotton as a single crop, as Comrade R.N. Nishanov has mentioned here, along with the impossibility of carrying out a crop rotation, are steadily leading to a degradation of this sector. The appropriate proposals which we have prepared are now in the hands of the Union organs.

To be sure, Vsevolod Serafimovich Murakhovskiy criticized us here because the chairman of our republic's Council of Ministers introduced a proposal to reduce the amount of raw cotton by 100,000 tons, and at the same time he comes out with a proposal to sell cotton abroad. Esteemed Vsevolod Serafimovich! In the first place, the proposal to sell 2,000 tons of cotton fiber was made after our republic had completely settled all its debts regarding cotton fiber since the beginning of the five-year plan. It produced this fiber above plan and requested permission to sell one-sixth of the above-plan output in order to purchase corn seeds in Yugoslavia. With other seeds we have had very low harvest levels in our republic.

A second problem is the following. This year we are returning to the period of 1950 with regard to disinfecting cotton seeds because of the fact that the disinfecting

apparatus which has employed the plant method up to now has been banned for use by the Ministry of Health, whereas the USSR Gosagroprom has not provided this republic's cotton sowers with new disinfecting apparatus. We requested permission to sell cotton in order to purchase such apparatus. This permission was not granted. And what is the situation as a result? We are now beginning to sow cotton, and we will, Mikhail Sergeyevich, soak 100 kilograms of cotton seeds in Formalin, dry them, and keep them for days under a canvas tarpaulin. Without doing this, it would be impossible to sow because gummosis and root rot would not allow the seeds to grow. Instead of solving the problem, we have been criticized here.

And then—we request to be left at 800,000 tons of cotton; our plan assigns 900,000. In general, if we approach the matter scientifically, Tajikistan's maximum potential is 700,000 tons of cotton. But, of course, previously we were assigned and harvested as much as a million tons, and a mark of 1.2 million tons was planned. But nobody thought about how the people would be fed. Now the lease-type system is proceeding well in our republic; the people had understood it. Wages are good, and output has been increased. Moreover, the leasers are achieving a per-hectare harvest yield which is from one to two and, in some cases, even three times as much as the other farms.

But another problem has arisen. Nowadays earnings have begun to decline for all of those who work in cotton production. Unless we solve the problem of revising the price of raw cotton in the next two or three years, many people will quit producing cotton and will switch over to producing fruit and vegetables. Therefore, I would ask that this matter also not be lost sight of because under the new conditions of cost accounting, in order to change the purchase prices on raw cotton, we first need to change the prices on cotton fiber. They are interrelated.

One of the most complicated problems causing sharp disputes and discussions is restructuring economic relations in the agro-industrial complex and administering them. We fully support everything that has been said here. But I would like to state one idea. Unless we solve the problem of supplying the farms with appropriate materials—construction and other materials—as well as equipment, as the speakers here have correctly noted, the major reorganization which has been outlined here will fail again. Doubt was expressed here concerning the

feasibility of transferring the functions of material and technical supply to USSR Gossnab. In our opinion, USSR Gossnab understands the priority of the agro-industrial complex. We should transfer everything to it from beginning to end, right up to supplying the rayon-level unit.

And now two small matters pertaining to ecology. The first is connected with the mechanization of cotton harvesting. As you all know, we used to apply butyl phosphate [?]. It has also been eliminated as harmful. But there is nothing to take its place. Last year we used magnesium chlorate. It would seem to be harmless. But the leaves of the cotton plant dry up from the magnesium chlorate and do not fall off. They do fall off when the crop is harvested and goes into the hopper, and, as a result, the quality of the cotton fiber is reduced. I would request, therefore, that our chemists seriously study the problem of how to replace butyl phosphate so that its useful features may be retained.

And the second matter is as follows. It is likewise connected with "ecology," if I may say so, in the understanding of our newspaper inklingers, as well as with the APK [agro-industrial complex]. The fact of the matter is that the central press, primarily the newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, instead of coming out in defense of industrial development, opposed it, and then PRAVDA followed suit. These newspapers published long articles against building the Rogunskaya Electric Power Plant. Now, Mikhail Sergeyevich, the resettlement of people has come to be full stop there. Not one person wants to be resettled. They say: "We know our rights; two All-Union newspapers are supporting us. Just reduce the height of the dam by 150 meters, and don't bother us." In connection with this situation, we suggested the following idea to the All-Union organs: if the level of the reservoir were to be lowered from its proposed fullest point by 50 meters—which would not seem to be much—it would lead to a reduction in the capacity by approximately a million (out of a planned capacity of 3.6 million kW) and a reduction in the volume of the reservoir by 4.5 cubic kilometers, but then approximately 1,000 hectares of irrigated lands, or slightly less, would be preserved. And 18,000 fewer persons would have to be resettled. I would request, comrades, that these matters be examined and resolved positively.

Thank you for your attention.

Goskomizdat Official on Publishing Issues, Red Tape

18300446a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Mar 89 p 3

[Interview with Dmitriy Mamleyev, first deputy chairman of Goskomizdat (State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade) by Correspondent V. Malukhin: "Labyrinths of the Book Market"]

[Text] [Malukhin] Dmitriy Fedorovich, prior to occupying your position in the "book ministry" you devoted many years to journalism and on many occasions exposed officialdom. Now you can compare your previous and current notions. Have your views changed, have you found that managerial personnel also possess a truth of their own?

[Mamleyev] Everyone has his own truth, to say nothing of his own ways of justifying it. But the modern manager's bread is not easily earned. So now it seems to me that my journalist colleagues are sometimes wrong when they "shoot from the hip" at the administrative apparatus. After all, as with journalists, there are officials and officials. Even in government service one can (and should) work for the benefit of the country. Total rejection is fraught with exactly the same kind of social nihilism from which we ourselves suffered so much in the past.

No country can survive without an administrative apparatus, without, if you like, government managers working to satisfy social demands. This can at times require tremendous effort.

Judge for yourself. The industry's transition to the second cost-accounting [khozraschet] model, the democratization of the operation of publishing houses, abandonment of the system of all kinds of restrictions, elimination of superfluous tiers of management, bold breaking down of stereotypes: all this presumes the introduction of a new scale for evaluating the work of managers.

Goskomizdat, where I work, could be called a hostage to a vast, complex, and technologically extremely backward system spanning publishing houses, printing, and the book trade. Take one example. All over the world the linotype has long since become a memorial in the history of printing on a par with Gutenberg's printing press. Yet we—I have just visited Tyumen—need linotypes. The country buys shoe factories, but no one so far is contemplating the acquisition a printing machinery plant or the construction of a printing plant "up to lock-and-key." But perhaps it would be worthwhile investing in such an enterprise? After all, the lag in printing plant and paper production is in effect a brake on the expansion of glasnost and perestroika. Besides, book publishing is virtually like printing money.

[Malukhin] It would stand to reason to expect that, having sensed the freedom for which they had pined for so many years, Goskomizdat's numerous charges would assume that better times had finally come. However, as far as I know, with the appearance of freedom of choice the situation in some publishing offices has actually worsened.

[Mamleyev] This could be defined as the conservative component of democratization. Paradoxical as it may seem, but it is often the worker collectives themselves that represent "protective" tendencies in the adoption of new policies. At present much is being done to break down old structures in the publishing industry, new people are joining editorial boards, a bold quest has begun for topics, authors, and ideas. Contractual systems are being tested and flexible goal-oriented structures are being created.

Contrary to expectations, this prospect did not cause much delight. To be sure, one of the reasons is a dogmatic mentality and the absence of habits of independence, responsibility and enterprise. But there is more to it.

When a person votes for change or preservation of the status quo he must invariably decide for himself how he personally will be affected by it. As often as not he prefers not to change anything, even if he agrees that change is needed. What if a new director will start cutting staff, forcing retirement or "putting you behind a computer"? But computers are the present day of the world book industry. There is another question: Who are the people whose votes, cast for one candidate or another, determine the direction of change? The editors who let books out into the world are a minority of the collective. Other employees are more concerned with a new manager's social program than publishing policies. They will favor those who promise benefits, from bonuses to free meals. Nevertheless, almost half the directors of the leading publishing houses are new, younger, more vigorous, business-oriented people.

[Malukhin] With what feelings do you walk out of a bookstore you have visited incognito?

[Mamleyev] Why necessarily incognito? I think openly is better. But first we should specify the location of the store and the book I came for. For example, book counters in Byelorussia or Moldavia often have more to offer than in Moscow. This is an indication of the activity of republican publishers, who are on their toes in the new conditions. I recently visited stores in Tyumen, Rostov and Stavropol. Changes are in the offing, though not as radical as one would like.

It is bad when a person can't find a book in his field. It is bad when it's impossible to buy a book for a child, so we are trying to urge not only "our" publishers to print children's books but "outside" publishers as well (there are several other powerful "publishing empires" in the

country, belonging to the party, the trade unions, the Komsomol, etc.). Frankly speaking, enforcing a uniform state policy in book publishing is not coming easily, but there are indications of change.

Two and a half billion books a year... Nonetheless we will hardly be able to satisfy the demand of all categories of readers in the next few years. After all, you can only pour as much out of a jug as it contains. We have adopted interim measures: Reducing the number of titles, increasing publication and new editions of books in high demand. Plans have been drawn up for the publication of reference books, encyclopedias, children's books and popular medical books, all of which will appear in huge printings. We have set up a rapid-response publishing house called "Knizhnaya palata" [Book Chamber] to publish hot items that initially appeared in literary journals. We are consistently implementing a program of unlimited subscriptions to national classics. The numbers have been published, and they are enormous.

In the offing are subscriptions to the collected works of Bulgakov, Platonov and Pasternak and a return of books by historians, philosophers and economists. Add to this statistical publications, books on data-processing, marketing, etc.

We are also introducing such unorthodox forms of book distribution as renting best-sellers, sales of extra copies by libraries, and second-hand book trade at negotiated prices. Some voices of criticism have been raised, but we think that the best thing is to seek and try rather than stay in one place.

We have declared war on "pamphleteering," i.e., the pro forma publication of political books for which there is no demand and which stare down at you from every bookstore wall. They account for a very small share of the market, but that is of no concern to a buyer who can't get the book he wants when he needs it. That is why we are for openness [glasnost]. So that publishing plans would not be kept secret. So that the fate of a book be decided not by a small circle of insiders but by an authoritative editorial board. So that books no one will read should never be published. However, it is impossible to create a more healthy atmosphere in the printing business without authors. And some of them can be extremely overbearing. There are still those who prefer to appeal directly to the Politburo rather than discuss things with the editor. Personally I, like any other reader, would like to walk into a store, pay my money and walk out with the book I came for. That is why today I leave a bookstore with a mixed sense of frustration and motivation. The former is rooted in the present, the latter is associated with work for tomorrow.

[Malukhin] But the industry's material base is at such a low level that if a qualitative change doesn't occur tomorrow won't we have to speak of it in terms of not the yesterday, but the day-before-yesterday of world printing?

[Mamleyev] That is the most burning issue. The book-publishing business is unique: in it ideology is "mixed" with chemistry, the development of culture depends on progress in the pulp-and-paper industry, while machine building imposes its will on art. Alas, this year fewer books will appear and some of the paper will be used for magazines.

We have great hopes for the construction of modern printing plants in Leningrad and the Moscow neighborhood of Brateyevo. The project was ready, clearing of the site began, but then the public opposed the construction. I can understand those people: the ecological situation in the industrial zone is acute. But modern printing poses no environmental threat. We met with inhabitants of the neighborhood, invited them to Goskomizdat together with deputies, showed them a film on printing techniques. Architects spoke about the project. We offered to build a sports palace, store and restaurant. The Brateyevo people expressed their appreciation of the committee's attitude in the confrontation, but still insisted that the plant should be built somewhere else. Paradoxically, during the debate some speakers reproached us for publishing too few books... But frankly speaking, more surprising is not the position of the Brateyevo people but the silence of the Moscow City Soviet Ispolkom, which has been dragging its feet on the issue for several months. If the Soviet has the authority it should use it. Either go on with the construction or provide a different site.

Another bottleneck is printing machinery. Electronics has revolutionized printing. Perhaps the conversion of defense industries can help us reach the level of modern technologies.

[Malukhin] There is a point of view, which you surely know, according to which there is only one reason for the absence of cooperative publishing houses and independent publishers in our country: should some "Arkhangelsk entrepreneur" enter the business he would quickly put the entire Goskomizdat force out of business...

[Mamleyev] That is certainly not the case. I doubt very much that your "entrepreneur" would immediately start publishing inexpensive school textbooks or small-circulation scientific books. After all, cooperatives are concerned with super-profits, and publishing assures a very high return. We have nothing against cooperatives in printing and publishing, but we are for gentlemanly relations!

There is progress in arranging the publication of books at the expense of their authors, including sponsorship by Litfond [Writers Union Literary Fund] and cooperatives. Publishers are also turning to those who voice original ideas; books have begun to appear with the note that the publishers do not share the author's views but recognize their right to exist.

We are for innovation. A branch bank has just been set up, the first leasing contracts have been signed, a youth publishing center is being organized, two theaters—poetry and

children's books—have been opened. So I wouldn't worry about the fate of Goskomizdat. After all, someone in the country must be concerned with the interests of society, see to strict compliance with the law, protect the rights of publishers and readers, register new publications, and respond to the interests of different social, ethnic, professional and other groups of the population.

According to its importance for the cultural life of society, Goskomizdat must be an agency of open doors. That is our view of ourselves.

Journalists Fault New Restrictions on Access to Events

*Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian
No 11, 15 Mar 89 p 12*

[Letter by journalists K. Musaelyan, A. Popov, G. Demin and others: "'Concern' For Journalists"]

[Text] We learned with surprise from an interview by IZVESTIYA Correspondent A. Illesh with Colonel V. Mikhaylov, chief of the MVD press bureau [for a translation of this item see page 67 of FBIS DAILY REPORT: SOVIET UNION, FBIS-SOV-89-030, dated 15 February 1989], that now, when a journalist learns that there is an emergency, demonstration, rally, meeting or "other mass concentrations of citizens" somewhere he must hurry not to the event but to the local UVD [internal affairs department] to get a special pass to "zones protected by the militia."

We are not sure whether this doesn't mean that a railway station, theater, movie or, say, an open party meeting constitute "mass concentrations of citizens," that is, "special zones protected by the militia" which, therefore, require special passes, and whether such passes must also be obtained for the traditional May 1 and November 7 demonstrations?

MVD press bureau chief Colonel B. Mikhaylov reassures us that "there is no need to interpret the decision to issue journalists special passes as an encroachment upon democracy." Quite the contrary, it appears that the innovation is intended to promote democratization and the rights of journalists.

It is quite obvious that the rights of those representatives of the press who fail, or are unable, to acquire a special pass will be restricted. How will the militia in places of "mass concentrations of citizens" act with respect to such "second-class" correspondents? Perhaps they will see this as a license to expose film and break expensive equipment, as has already happened before?

Journalists beyond the control of such important agencies as the MVD or Ministry of Defense have on occasion made bold to take advantage of glasnost to the detriment of employees of the aforementioned agencies and denounce their actions. Perhaps that is why the MVD and Ministry of Defense have decided to extend their patronage to "overzealous" journalists and set the right guidelines for them on how to "cover the activity of internal affairs organs."

The sacred right of journalists, confirmed by a correspondent's ID or Journalists Union membership card, has been curtailed while at the same time claiming that it has been expanded. But requiring more documents does not make for more freedom: the dependence here is in inverse proportion!

We are surprised, and some are depressed, by the ease with which agencies are issuing sundry circulars regulating our life and attempting to present as law things which have not been approved by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet or Council of Ministers and are therefore no law at all. Meanwhile we, in a state of euphoria, keep arguing in newspapers and on TV screens that we are helping to establish a legal state and bringing laws in accord with international legal acts ratified by the USSR.

Despite the claim by MVD press bureau chief Colonel Mikhaylov that "journalists can consult the documents at the local UVD," we were unable to obtain a copy of the Regulation at any of Moscow's rayon UVDs, or even at Petrovka 38 [location of the Moscow UVD]! Lawyers of the Journalists Union are also unfamiliar with it.

"What should a journalist who doesn't have a special pass do if he is unable to get where he needs to, while representatives of the militia refuse to talk to people without special passes?" IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Illesh asked MVD Colonel B. Mikhaylov.

"All violations infringing on the rights of those who write and take pictures should be reported to us," he responded.

Some deal!

Academicians Explore Stalin's Role in Tsarist Secret Police

18300568 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 30 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences G. Arutyunov, formerly professor at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of the History of the USSR, and Doctor of Historical Sciences F. Volkov, professor at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, under the rubric "Fragments of the Past: Versions and Commentary": "Before the Court of History"; followed by a commentary by Academician A. Samsonov; accompanied by photograph of Stalin from the illustrated documentary album, "Pervaya russkaya revolyutsiya: 1905-1907" [First Russian Revolution: 1905-1907]]

[Text] Esteemed editors! I read a chapter from A. Adamovich's novella "Karateli" [The Punishers] in the magazine DRUZHBA NARODOV. This part was called "The Double." It says that Stalin was an agent of the tsarist secret police under the code name Fikus. Is that true? I would like for qualified historians to tell about this in detail in your newspaper.

[Signed] S. Antonova.

The question our reader asks is the subject of heated debates among historians, writers, and public-affairs journalists today. Some people claim that there are grounds for considering Stalin an agent of the tsarist secret police, while others believe all that is pure fabrication. In short, there is no unequivocal answer, since neither side has sufficient arguments. How the debates end, time will tell, along with a careful analysis of documents and the testimony of people who knew Stalin—they are still alive. But each of the opponents has the right to express his viewpoint. That is why we have decided to offer the opportunity to speak to two prominent scholars who have studied the problems of Stalinism, Doctor of Historical Sciences G. Arutyunov, formerly a professor at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of the History of the USSR, who in the 1960s, on an assignment from a commission of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee, studied archival documents connected with the Stalinist repressions and the activities of Stalin himself; and Doctor of Historical Sciences F. Volkov, professor at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations.

Features of coarseness, perfidy, disloyalty and capriciousness in Stalin's character and, most importantly, his urge for unlimited rule in the party and state and his lack of discrimination in choosing the means for attaining his goals—all that, as D. Volkogonov noted, gave birth to a "demon and a villain."

Now we know for certain from documents that Stalin not only knew about acts of lawlessness but organized them and directed them behind the scenes. His activities as dictator have been called criminal and unpardonable from the highest rostrums.

As we know, the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee established a Commission for the Additional Study of Materials Connected with the Repressions That Occurred in the Period of the 1930s-1940s and Early 1950s. The first results of the commission's work have been published, and it is continuing its efforts. For the sake of historical truth and its thorough disclosure, we would like to help the commission with the presentation of new documents pertaining to Stalin's personality and his prerevolutionary past. In our view, this will help more fully uncover the roots of Stalinism itself.

In 1961 one of the authors of this article, Prof. G. Arutyunov, while working in the Central State Archives of the October Revolution and Socialist Construction, found a document confirming that Iosif Dzhugashvili (Stalin) was an agent of the tsarist secret police.

The original of this document is kept in the Central State Archives of the October Revolution (Moscow, 17 Bolshaya Pirogovskaya Street) in the collection of materials from the police department of the Yenisey Guberniya Gendarmierie Administration. The ministry's collections number about 900,000 items.

Let us cite the document in full:

Head of the Special Department of the Police Department, 12 July 1913.

No 2838.

Top secret.

To A. F. Zheleznyakov, chief of the Yenisey Okhranka Division.

Personal.

Dear sir, Aleksey Fedorovich!

Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili—Stalin—who was administratively exiled to Turukhansk Kray after having been arrested in 1906, provided valuable intelligence to the chief of the Tiflis G. G. (Guberniya Gendarmierie—authors) Administration. In 1908 the chief of the Baku Okhranka Division received a number of items of intelligence from Stalin, and subsequently, following Stalin's arrival in Petersburg, Stalin became an agent of the Petersburg Okhranka Division. Stalin's work was distinguished by accuracy, but it was intermittent. After Stalin's election to the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party in Prague, Stalin, upon returning to Petersburg, entered into open opposition to the government and completely broke off his ties with the okhranka division.

I report, dear sir, what is set forth herein as a matter for your personal consideration in your conduct of investigative work.

Be assured of my absolute esteem for you.

Yeremin.

Stamped received by the Yenisey Okhranka Division.

Rec. No 65, 23 July 1913.

This letter was sent from Petersburg to Krasnoyarsk, the center of what was then the Yenisey Guberniya, by Col Yeremin, head of the special department of the police department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The document indicates that no later than 1906 I. Dzhugashvili (Stalin) became an agent of the tsarist secret police and conscientiously performed duties he assumed over the course of several years, until approximately 1912.

Of course, careful expert analysis by prominent criminologists and historians is required to establish the authenticity of this document. Like any historical document, it requires the most thorough and scrupulous inspection. What sort of criticisms are there regarding its authenticity?

First of all, the style of such documents is usually highly specific. Could an employee of the police department, in writing the chief of the Yenisey Okhranka Division about his agent, use his real name, rather than his code name, as was the custom? That's a reasonable question. But we have our own answer for it. Let us offer it for discussion. The point is that by 1913 I. Dzhugashvili (Stalin), as the document states, "had entered into open opposition to the government and completely broken off his ties with the okhranka division." That is, we want to say, the need for the police to keep his name secret had thereby ceased to exist.

Second, in 1913 the chief of the Yenisey Okhranka Division was M. A. Baykov, and Zheleznyakov was his deputy. But that contradiction can be attributed to an intentional or unintentional mistake by Yeremin, who "promoted" A. F. Zheleznyakov out of bureaucratic zeal. There are other explanations, as well.

Third, Yeremin's signature on the message differs somewhat from the facsimile of his signature. However, we have checked six to seven of his authentic signatures, and they correspond to the signature on the message.

There is other evidence that casts light on unexplained pages in Stalin's biography. First and foremost, there is the testimony of Olga Grigoryevna Shatunovskaya, who was a member of the Bolshevik Party from 1916 on, and who presently lives on Kutuzov Prospect in Moscow.

O. G. Shatunovskaya is not just one of the oldest party members, but was also a member of the Baku Commune and personal secretary of Stepan Shaumyan, special commissar for Caucasus affairs of the RSFSR Council of People's Commissars, and chairman of the Baku Commune. In the 1930s she was an important official of the Moscow City Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). She suffered illegal repression. After being rehabilitated, she became a member of the Party Control Committee and a member of the commission of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee that was set up in 1960 under the leadership of N. M. Shvernik and that did an immense amount of work in investigating Stalin's repressions and rehabilitating their victims.

In a conversation with us O. G. Shatunovskaya confirmed that, in the words of Stepan Shaumyan, "Stalin was an agent of the tsarist secret police from 1916 on." Let us recall that Stalin had become a member of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party in 1898. Stepan Shaumyan told his close comrades in the party, including Shatunovskaya, about the circumstances of one arrest at a secret apartment in Baku. The location of the apartment was known only to Stalin, whom Shaumyan had told about it in confidence. The secret rendezvous was broken up. Shaumyan was certain that Koba had given him up to the police.

And here we can answer the question of reader S. Antonova directly. A. Adamovich's story "The Double" calls Stalin an agent of the secret police under the code name Fikus. That is an error: he was an agent, but not under the name Fikus.

In the USSR Central State Archives of the October Revolution, in the Baku Okhranka Division collection, there is an interesting document, a report from secret police agent Fikus.

"To the Baku Okhranka Division.

"Yesterday the Baku Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party held a meeting. Attending it were Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili-Stalin, who had come from the Center, 'Kuzma' (St. Shaumyan—author) and others.

"The members accused Dzhugashvili-Stalin of being a provocateur, a secret police agent, and of having stolen party money. Dzhugashvili-Stalin answered this with countercharges.

[Signed] Fikus."

The code name Fikus, as we have deciphered it from tsarist secret police documents, referred to David Vissarionovich Bakradze, alias Nikolay Stepanovich Yerikov. The compilation of agents' reports for the city of Baku on the Social Democratic Party for March 1910 (document No 5574), which was made by the Tiflis Okhranka Division on the basis of reports from agent Fikus, contains the following information: "Paragraph 2. It is still impossible to get work going in the Baku committee. There was a complication involving Kuzma. He for some reason took offense at several committee members and declared that he was quitting the organization.

"Meanwhile, 150 rubles sent by the Central Committee for the installation of major equipment (printing equipment—authors) still remains unused, is in his possession, and he is still refusing to turn it over. Koba has asked him for it several times, but he persistently refuses, obviously showing mistrust in Koba."

Do you see? Stepan Shaumyan persistently refuses to trust Koba, who betrayed his rendezvous to the secret police, and believes that he is working for the secret police.

The 150 rubles sent for setting up printing equipment is also mentioned in the compilation of agents' reports for the city of Tiflis, No 10170, dated 23 June 1910, and sent to the police department addressed to the special department: "In Balakhany (a rayon of Baku—**authors**), at the oil fields of the Caspian Association in Zabrat, the machinery operator Khachaturova is keeping a large piece of equipment in boxes in disassembled form. Stepan Grigoryevich Shaumyan and Shibayev, manager of the oil pipeline, are keeping 150 rubles appropriated by the Central Committee for the installation of this equipment. Shaumyan is a member of the Baku Committee; the equipment has not yet been installed.... There is also some small equipment being kept at the Balakhany Station, but exactly where is not yet known."

The report is signed by the same Fikus, who is very well informed about the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party's organization in the city of Baku. So undoubtedly some prominent party member was accurately informing the secret police about its activities.

That same compilation of agents' reports, but in this case for the city of Baku, contains information about serious disagreements in the Baku Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party.

"Work in the organization," one report states, "has come to a halt. The Baku Committee cannot get its full membership together. On Sunday only Slava (Vladislav Minasovich Kasparyants—**authors**), Shaumyan and Kandelaki—a worker, and a new secretary of the oil-field workers' union—met. They discussed the upcoming conference and the need to request professional workers from Central Russia to make up for the absence of any in Baku; however, it turned out that they could not find any money for that, and the question was left open."

Every step of the Baku Committee's work became known to the secret police. Its informer, that is, the one who supplied information to Fikus, was highly competent and served the secret police honorably. We can conjecture that it was I. Stalin.

Slava, Vladislav Minasovich Kasparyants, and his wife were professional revolutionaries. They worked with V. I. Lenin in Geneva. After returning to Russia, they carried out party and state assignments.

According to O. G. Shatunovskaya's information, in 1937 Varya Kasparova was arrested in Baku and put in the Novocherkassk Prison. There she informed the investigator that Stalin had been an agent of the tsarist secret police. That became known to Stalin, who sent Boris Petrovich Sheboldayev, then first secretary of the Rostov Party Committee, to see V. Kasparova and persuade her to repudiate such claims, or else she would

die. "As long as I'm alive I will say that Stalin was a provocateur and an agent of the tsarist secret police. I will die, but I will not repudiate my testimony," V. Kasparova answered bravely.

She died as a victim of Stalinism. The Bolshevik and Leninist Boris Petrovich Sheboldayev also perished. His conversation with Kasparova was later reported to his son Sergey Borisovich Sheboldayev, who is now a docent at a Moscow higher school.

And here is yet more information about Stalin as an agent of the tsarist secret police. In 1937 an official of the OGPU was sent from Moscow to Kiev to find compromising materials on Bukharin, Rykov and other "deviationists" in the Kiev archives. There that official found a document about Stalin-Koba, agent of the tsarist secret police. He reported this to Balitskiy, who was then Ukrainian people's commissar of internal affairs. Balitskiy could not make a decision himself and reported the find to S. Kosior, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; P. Postyshev, second secretary; and I. Yakir, commander of the Kiev Military District. This became known to Stalin. Kosior, Balitskiy and Postyshev were arrested as "enemies of the people" and died. Yakir's fate was not a nice one, either.

The OGPU official was able to hide abroad, and he turned over the materials on Stalin to [Gyuismans], who was leader of the Social Democrats at the time. He later turned the materials over to Khrushchev.

We were once read a closed letter of the CPSU Central Committee about the personality cult telling about the death of Postyshev and other Leninist Communists. The remaining materials about Stalin were conveyed only to the narrowest circle—members of the Politburo and secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee.

But why didn't the materials about Stalin become fully known to all members of the party and the people as a whole?

In 1962 Olga Grigoryevna Shatunovskaya, as a member of the Party Control Committee and the commission for the rehabilitation of the victims of the personality cult, put before the CPSU Central Committee the question of publishing the materials on Stalin as an agent of the tsarist secret police. Khrushchev said that could not be done. "It turns out that the country was led for more than 30 years by an agent of the tsarist secret police, even though that is written about abroad." Those, in her recollection, were Nikita Sergeyevich's words.

Of course, it would be too bold to assume the responsibility for drawing a firm conclusion, on the basis of these documents, that I. Stalin was an agent of the secret police. There needs to be a careful analysis of the authenticity of the documents that have been cited and of the testimony of old party members. In our view, it would be a good idea to set up a special commission

consisting of officials of competent agencies, scholars, and members of the public for this purpose. We think that other, even more irrefutable documents confirming our viewpoint will turn up.

As we see it, one of the reasons for Stalin's crimes, those gigantic proscriptions against members of the Leninist guard, politicians, military men, scholars, writers, workers and peasants, was his desire to conceal his inglorious past and destroy witnesses. At the same time, his service in the secret police confirms once again the unprincipled character of the "father of all peoples," his perfidy and treachery toward his comrades-in-arms, and his seeking personal gain, above all, in everything.

Regarding the preparation of "Ocherki po istorii KPSS" [Essays in the History of the CPSU], the party Central Committee commission chaired by M. S. Gorbachev has noted: "An honest and candid analysis needs to be made of the reasons for the deformations and deviations from the Leninist concept of socialism, and an exhaustive examination must be made of why, in the course of the country's transformation under the banner of October, which was a great historic exploit of our party and people, the emergence and growth of authoritarian and bureaucratic distortions and their consequences were not prevented in time."

We cannot keep the painful issues of history quiet, because that would mean disregarding the truth and treating the memory of millions of innocent victims of lawlessness and tyranny with disrespect.

Commentary by Academician A. Samsonov

Having read the article, which the editors provided to me, by Doctors of History G. Arutyunov and F. Volkov, scholars whom I know well, I quite honestly reflected: Is there any reason to publish it? Aren't we fragmenting and trivializing the main topic of research—the sources and essence of Stalinism; aren't we diverting discussion from the essence of the matter? After some reflection I realized: no, we are not diverting the discussion. Stalinism cannot be separated from the personality of Stalin himself. By getting to the essence of his actions and deeds, we thereby understand more deeply the essence of the phenomenon itself and, to some extent, its roots. The repressions organized by Stalin, his destruction of old Leninist Bolsheviks as witnesses of his shameful past, also become more understandable.

Of course, I do not in every respect share the viewpoint of the authors, who offer documentary confirmation of the theory that Stalin was an agent of the tsarist secret police. There are other, contrary views. The documents and the testimony themselves are disputed. But in any case, the authors are right about the main thing: All documents connected with Stalin's activities must be made public, and a qualified commission should be established for this purpose. It is impossible to keep quiet what has long been brewing in people's minds and showing up in the press. An unequivocal answer should be given to the question that has been raised: was Stalin an agent of the tsarist secret police, or was he not? And therefore I favor the publication of G. Arutyunov and F. Volkov's version, which is based on scholarly research.

New Orthodox Cathedral Being Built in Moscow

18120087 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 18, 7-14 May 89 p 13

[Article by Priest Mark Smirnov. First paragraph is introduction.]

[Text] An Orthodox church is to be built in Orekhovo-Borisovo, a new housing development in Moscow.

Orekhovo-Borisovo, where more than half-a-million people live, has no functioning church. The nearest are in Kolomenskoye or Besedy Village, beyond the Moscow Circular Road. Within the 110-kilometre Circular Road, Moscow, a city with a population exceeding 8 million, has only 50 functioning Orthodox churches!

The Moscow City Soviet adopted the decision to build the church in Orekhovo-Borisovo when the Soviet public and religious circles in the country were marking the 1,000th anniversary of Christianity in Russia. The decision, of course, was a jubilee present from the Soviet government to Russian Orthodox Church.

As the Business-Manager of the Moscow Patriarchate Vladimir, Metropolitan of Rostov and Novocherkassk, told a MOSCOW NEWS correspondent, the cathedral will have two annexes, in honour of the Protecting Veil of the Mother of God and All the Saints Who Shone Forth in the Land of Russia.

It will be built in the style of Orthodox churches of last century. A special commission will approve the project and oversee construction. Preliminary estimates put the cost at over 50 million roubles and account No. 701716 has been opened at the Leninsky office of Moscow's Zhilsotsbank for any donations. It will not only be a monument to ten centuries of Russian Christianity, but also to all those who worked "for the Orthodox church and for true faith in Christ," shed their blood and gave their lives for them," as was said in the Great Funeral Service held to mark the 1,000th anniversary of Christianity in Russia.

As yet, only the first foundation stone has been laid, but the residents of Orekhovo-Borisovo already have a road that leads to a church.

Meeting To Commemorate Purged Priests Held

18120090a Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 17, 30 Apr-7 May 89 p 2

[Article by Sergei Nenashev: "Time of Conscience"]

[Text] A meeting in memory of priests, repressed when the Soviets had just come to power, was held at the Theological Academy in Leningrad. It was organized by local theological students and Memorial Organization activists.

The priests were killed and the theologians sent into exile: in 1925 some 200 were forced out of the country. Not only representatives of Russian Orthodoxy were subjected to persecutions. Of the 166 Buddhist monasteries that existed before 1917, not a single one remained by 1941 while of 20,000 mosques only 1,000 are still standing today.

The words of Vladimir Sorokin, editor of the Academy, Professor and Archpriest, set the tone for the meeting: "Let's not take revenge. The Old Testament verse 'a tooth for a tooth' is not a life principle of the Russian people, of the Orthodox Church. Today we have such an avalanche of information about the mistakes and cruelty in past years that a man can lose himself. But the most horrible thing is if a nation loses itself."

Local Officials, Newspaper Censured for Treatment of Religious Hunger Strikers

18120090b Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 17, 30 Apr-7 May 89 p 15

[Article by Alexander Ignatov, APN political analysis, Ivanovo-Moscow: "Fighting for Their Church in Ivanovo"]

[Text] Ivanovo city authorities are at odds with the local Russian Orthodox community ("MN" No. 14), which is demanding the return of the Vvedenskaya, or the Red Church, for purposes of worship. Since 1936, the Red Church has housed regional archives. The Ivanovo City Soviet Executive Committee refuses to meet the Christians' demand. In protest, a group of women staged a hunger strike right outside the church.

This strike sparked a series of demonstrations and rallies in support of the believers through the city of half a million. But the women were also criticized. Two weeks into the strike, the City Soviet Executive Committee ruled that the protesters be removed from the church porch and taken to the hospital and that public order be restored. The church was encircled by militiamen. But the protesters continued their hunger strike even after being hospitalized.

What do the authorities have to say for themselves? First Vice-Chairman of the Ivanovo Regional Soviet Executive Committee A. Laptev was explicit: "The believers' action is extortion, the protesters are the scum of the earth and the people condemn their hunger strike." Laptev was also indignant about the stand taken by the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the USSR Council of Ministers which recommended that the Executive Committee register the new parish and then the believers be given back the church, though "the archives issue has not been resolved yet." A new building is being constructed for the regional archives now in the Red Church. According to Laptev, the new space is not large enough: it should have been designed to be twice the size.

Therefore, the documents currently in the church will remain there. Can't the believers understand that these precious documents from the past should never be thrown out?!

"We are not asking that the church be transferred to us immediately and we are even ready to help build the new archives," said L. Kholina, head of the religious community. "What worries us is the fate of the church."

I called Director of the Regional Archives L. Lisitsina.

"All the documents now in the church will be transferred to the new building as soon as it is completed—the work should be done by the third quarter of 1989. We do not need any unprofessional help. The new building will hold 1.5 million documents."

A. Laptev's statement was incorrect.

Can Ivanovo's authorities produce other relevant arguments against the reversion of the church to its original function? Indeed they can. The head of the City Soviet Executive Committee said: It would be senseless to return the church to the believers since the general public is against it and one church is enough for the worshippers. But that one functioning church is apparently too small for everyone. I spoke to dozens of Ivanovites, both believers and atheists, Communists and non-Party people. Not all of them endorsed the hunger strike as a proper method of action. But they were even more critical of the authorities' conduct.

That was mentioned by Ivanovo's recently elected people's deputies in the youth newspaper LENINETS. Director of an automobile-related enterprise S. Zvonov

said: "The hunger strike was provoked by the inertia of the local authorities. The publication of personal details about the hunger-strikers in the RABOCHY KRAI was an act of indecency." Lt-Col. V. Rodziruk: "The hunger strike is unacceptable. Yet, the church must be returned." Work-team leader A. Strelkov: "Not everything is clear. Nevertheless, the conflict should be resolved without delay, and people must be informed of the developments. Muck-raking was the worst thing the newspaper could have done."

Of course, there were other opinions as well. A. Lebedev, WWII and labour veteran, thinks that the return of the church would be inappropriate. Still, he believes, the law should be abided by. Chairman of the regional court V. Silenko who is also the people's deputy from the Children's Fund: "If those people are really crooks, then the return of the church should be out of the question."

Negative opinions were based mainly on the publications in the RABOCHY KRAI. The newspaper doesn't like the fact that all four women involved in the strike are relative newcomers to Ivanovo. The bulk of its article was devoted to a description of the four Christian women's private lives, evidently intended to prove that their cause is not a righteous one. Yet the result, in my opinion, was the opposite: readers felt sympathy.

Representatives of the local Christian community visited each of the local top officials more than once. Yet, they were not heard in Ivanovo.

In an attempt to discredit the Ivanovo believers as second-rate citizens, the stubborn officials mentioned the possibility of a city-wide referendum. Perhaps, they are hoping that since most residents are non-believers, most will vote against returning the church to the believers.

Writer V. Voinovich Rehabilitated

18120082a Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 13, 2-9 Apr 89 p 14

[Article by Andrei Vasilyev. First paragraph is introduction.]

[Text] False charges levelled eight years ago against writer Vladimir Voinovich were energetically disproved during a recital of his works at the Meridian Palace of Culture.

The hosts—critic Benedikt Sarnov, actor Veniamin Smekhov and film director Eldar Ryazanov called the writer (who had come from Munich) the cause of the recital. The usual “hero of the occasion” would be a bit out-of-place here because of the bitter tone of the festivities. There were time for Vladimir Voinovich when the whole country knew that Nikita Khrushchev was singing his song—“Let’s have a smoke before take-off”—from the rostrum of Lenin’s Mausoleum. A long time passed between then and 16 June 1981, when V. Voinovich was deprived of Soviet citizenship for actions discrediting the USSR. In the following eight years, his *Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Soldier Ivan Chonkin* was published in Yunost, a film was made based on this novel and directed by Ryazanov, he received an invitation from the Union of Soviet Cinema Workers and this meeting was held.

“I recall the words of U.S. astronaut Armstrong, the first man to set foot on the Moon,” said the writer. “This is a small step for man, but a great step for humankind. My arrival in Moscow, on the other hand, was a great step for me and for humankind, I hope, at least a tiny but real step towards mutual understanding.”

Vladimir Voinovich wrote almost nothing during the first three years in emigration. But the following five were very fruitful. He believes that emigration gives a writer a valuable opportunity to look at his country from aside. About the banning of his books he said:

“You can’t fight against a banned book. All this time my Chonkin was kept as though in a freezer, without anyone being fed on it and without becoming obsolete. Only now it has to wage a struggle against time.”

The author is to discuss terms for the publication of the second part of his satirical novel with Yunost. As mentioned, the Mosfilm Studios are going to produce a screen version of Chonkin. The magazine TEATR will publish the play “Tribunal” and Moskovsky Rabochy Publishers are preparing a book of his five stories. In short, the works of Voinovich are merging with cultural patterns in our country. What about him?

“I owe my people no apology,” said the writer, “and am not asking anyone for anything. I need justice, not mercy. There are things which can’t be settled right

away—disarmament, normalization of the economy. But citizenship can be restored with the stroke of a pen to those who were unlawfully deprived of it.”

Stories About Afghan War Veterans Praised

18120082b Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 13, 2-9 Apr 89 p 11

[Article by Igor Zolotussky. First paragraph is introduction.]

[Text] Following Georgi Vladimov’s beautifully ferocious “Faithful Ruslan,” two stories by Oleg Yermakov have appeared in the ZNAMYA magazine.

No one knows this name yet, but now I am sure this won’t last. His stories cut me like a blade with their freedom of narration and spirit. In that horrible Afghan war people were not only dying they were also being born. More adult than many grown-ups, wiser than many wise guys, these boys lived a hundred lives in those two or three years, when they were burning on the sands of an alien country without a mouthful of water or a hope of ever being justified; because, dying and killing they believed that theirs was a sacred cause. “Kids,” “young chickens,” afraid of killing and incapable of killing; ruthlessly tested seniors, who could knock off a human head with a strike of their fist, the silence of hating kishlaks (villages), the poisoned sweetness of orchards, poisoned water, poisoned heroism—this is how the war in Afghanistan is seen in Oleg Yermakov’s stories. And if his hero, going into his first operation, doesn’t believe in death but thinks that he will live maybe a thousand years, at the end, he wishes “his heart would stop beating now.”

That is why, in another story, having already returned home, he cannot accept the world listening to the thunder of Munchausenlike speeches which can neither save his soul nor bring back to life those who were returned to their country in “boxes.” Despair and anger are choking his throat, and two pictures surface in the memory of the crippled hero. The first: soldiers shooting down cranes in the steppe with submachine-gun bursts. The second: a boy protecting a white rabbit in his coat. Both the boy and the soldier killing birds are the same person. But they are separated by the war. Will they ever blend together, will the soldier become the same boy, even if partly? In the end, the hero throws down his submachine gun and together with the rabbit, heads towards the black birds which landed not far away. He goes to them as to his last hope.

Literature about the Afghan war veterans will not be long in waiting and I think this war will produce writers who will finally deliver us from sighs for the last power of modern prose. These boys have seen too much. They have understood too much. And they won’t be deceived again.

**Emigre Artist Shemyakin Exhibited in Moscow,
Welcomed Back**

*18120082c Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 16, 23-30 Apr 89 p 11*

[Article by Galina Vasilyeva]

[Text] When we met him at the airport he was wearing the same old army sheepskin coat he'd had on when he left 18 years ago. Actor Igor Dmitriyev who had given him the coat for the long journey of no return—as we all thought then—cried. Shemyakin's eyes welled with tears behind his big glasses. The Leningrad musicologist Sergei Sigitov, Shemyakin's loyal friend who suffered a lot for his loyalty, stood away from the crowd looking lost.

The next morning Shemyakin's exhibition opened at Krymsky Val in Moscow. Much has been written about it since. So I want to write about the people who got in to the exhibition—with or without tickets. They were a breed apart from the usual smart preview crowd. Ski caps, jackets, running shoes... Of course there were some of the regulars: society lions and shady dealers who buy up all the catalogues within minutes. I wonder how they do it? Why does the same thing happen again and again at all previews? Why do the clerks willingly sell dozens of copies to one person?

But most of the visitors were people in the arts and culture and artists, many of whom languished in obscurity and poverty during the stagnation period, working as watchmen, lift-operators, stevedores; their art was not just ignored, it was suppressed. Now that Shemyakin and his work has been so widely publicized I wonder if all those people were coming simply to give him his due? Perhaps, they were coming to claim their own due? To enjoy their reinstated identity and the right to practise their art and make a living that way?

Perhaps, they came to give Shemyakin his due as one of the few artists who went abroad unwillingly, who stood firm, fulfilled himself and made his mark as a Russian painter. Indeed, the roots of Mikhail Shemyakin's art—the Russian icon, the culture of St. Petersburg, the Russian lubok and folklore—are all clearly traceable in his work.

He has stood his ground, endured and won... A happy combination of natural endowment, fanatical industry, physical strength (an important asset for an artist) and a unique ability to live in his own inner world that is difficult, frightening and in many ways unusual for us—and, at the same time, to be all there, among and with people...

Why do I keep thinking about it? Shemyakin came with the first issue of *The Art of Russia and the West*, a journal he published at his own expense. Soviet art

lovers can see works by Tselkov, Yakerson and Mezberg reproduced there. A first rendezvous after long years of separation. But what about other emigre artists? Dozens and dozens of them disappeared without trace. Where are they now?

...After Moscow Shemyakin went on to his native Leningrad and the Hermitage Museum from which the obstinate scaffolder was once expelled for his "incorrect" art. Shemyakin and Frank Bowles and Serge Sorokko, the owners of the American gallery who brought his exhibition to Moscow, were received by Academician Piotrovsky, Director of the Hermitage. Then came the legendary Aunt Faina, the former boss and patron of the young dissident artists who were also scaffolders. I had heard so much about her while visiting Shemyakin in New York, I could hardly believe she really existed. Youthful, lithe and beautifully suited to the Hermitage atmosphere, reminiscent of a Dutch portrait, Aunt Faina kept stroking her former ward, as if trying to remove the scars from his face.

Shemyakin also paid a visit to Dostoyevsky's House now featuring an exposition of his own early illustrations. The fuss, excitement, and boom of foreign voices, collectors came from all over the world to attend the opening. They were in raptures. What a heady combination: the great Dostoyevsky, his desk and chair, and Shemyakin's paintings on the walls, plus the old Leningrad intelligentsia who had flocked to see "young Misha."

Later, at the Russian Museum, a constructive discussion took place about an exchange between Soviet and American galleries. Then followed a heart-rending reunion of old friends which took place at one of their former haunts, and Shemyakin said: "Guys, these are the happiest minutes in the last 18 years of my life."

Shemyakin's art exhibited all over the world but not in his native country, has returned to us. A remarkable home-coming. But let's remember that there are 20 million of our compatriots (one out of every 15 of us) who live abroad, in different corners of the world.

...An endless line of people waits every day to get in to see Shemyakin's exhibition at Krymsky Val. They are there rain or shine, and I can't help thinking that this country has at long last turned a smiling face on the people who suffered, including Shemyakin, despite his present prosperity. "There are those who leave, and those who see them off," the poet Boris Slutsky once wrote.

The time has come to welcome them back.

Writer Bondarev Defends Conservative Views on Perestroyka

*18001001 Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 15
8-15 Apr 89 p 13*

[Interview with Yuriy Bondarev: "We Live under Pluralism, Damn It"; reprinted from VECHERNIY VOLGOGRAD No 40, 16 Feb, and VOLZHSKAYA PRAVDA, No 38, Feb 22]

[Text] The noted Soviet Writer, Hero of Socialist Labor Yuriy Vasilyevich Bondarev met with students of the Volgograd State University, representatives of the labor collective of the "15th State Ball-Bearing Plant" association and students of the Volgograd CPSU obkom's advanced professional training school for party, soviet and ideological staffs and answered numerous oral and written questions. This is a reprint of some of his answers which appeared in newspapers VECHERNIY VOLGOGRAD No.40, February 16 and VOLZHSKAYA PRAVDA, No.38, February 22 and which were sent to us by our readers.

[Question] Do you not think that perestroyka has caught us unawares? This is the question about that airplane of yours. When one reads your speech at the 19th All-Union Party Conference one has the impression that you are in the same boat with Nina Andreyeva.

[Bondarev] Everyone has the right to his own opinion. The compare-and-put-together method—Bondarev with Andreyeva, Andreyeva with Bondarev—is out. And about Nina Andreyeva: why should I put Nina Andreyeva's opinion to the wall and machine-gun it? We live under pluralism, damn it. This is my opinion. And now about myself. Read my speeches—and my speech at the conference, too—more carefully. My phrase about the airplane was carried all over the world. It was done to cast doubt on perestroyka. But I spoke about an airplane that we have sent up not knowing where the landing strip would be. But read on. Only our agreement can build this landing strip. Only our agreement. It was all in my speech. It was all cut out, just like in OGONEK. Look, now I am cast as against perestroyka, perestroyka's enemy. Just listen and read carefully, that's all.

[Question] You reject critical articles and speeches and call all of them extremist. Do you not oversimplify the matter? Do you think that unanimity alone leads to progress?

[Bondarev] Extremists... "We will tear the world completely down and then..." [Quotation from the "Internationale"] Shouldn't tear anything down completely. No matter how bad it is.

[Question] A deputy elected by a national-territorial district would have to deal with regional issues along with national ones. Do you not think that you, living in Moscow as you do, are like that kolkhoz chairman who lived in the city?

[Bondarev] Good question. I am not looking for excuses, but let me say that Georgiy Konstantinovich Zhukov, whom I met when I worked on the film "Liberation", did not spend his time in the trenches. He had his command post 60 and more kilometers back from the front line.

[Question] Do you not think that one of the reasons perestroyka is advancing so slowly is all those articles on the blank spots of history?

[Bondarev] I think that this written question hits the nail on the head. Why? Because they destroy something valuable in our souls. In those articles of ours I see half-truths or so-called truthful lies.

[Question] Yuriy Vasilyevich, I have two questions. The first one is: how do you assess now your old statement on television proposing to restore Stalin's name to Volgograd? And the second one: I do not understand your election platform and the fuss around the magazine OGONEK, the journal ZNAMYA and other publications most of us read and love.

[Bondarev] Comrades, this is my answer to the first question. I think and I am deeply convinced that our cities, our historic cities connected with the lives of our forbearers, our history, our sufferings, heroism and the history of our nation in general must bear the names which they always had and which they had since time immemorial.¹ As to the city of Volgograd, I am still of the same opinion and will not change it despite all criticism: this city must be called Stalingrad.

As to Stalin, I know about all the evil that the man perpetrated, but I also know that he has made an enormous contribution to the building of socialism and during the war years.

Now the second question. I do not know where in my articles you have read attacks on ZNAMYA or OGONEK. I spoke about OGONEK in my speech at the party conference. And I am ready to repeat a hundred times what I said about OGONEK. I have no right to be dishonest with you. I do not care for OGONEK's position. My ethical position, if you will, differs from that magazine's position, because things published in that magazine which pretend to sensationalism and so forth, those things should have been and must always be corroborated by documents. I think that whenever something is said about some well-known person, facts must always be put into perspective and corroborated by documents.

We have some memoirs supported by documents. I am thinking of Zhukov's memoirs, which are the first that come to mind. Those memoirs are based on documents, they contain no inventions. I am fortunate to have read the first version of those memoirs. The first version, before they were edited a little to spice them up. They have now been reissued in that same version.

What are my complaints against OGONEK? True, this is not the place to talk about it since our meeting is on a different subject, but I can say it. You see, the problem is that OGONEK has taken a negative view of some writers; in other words, there is ideological struggle here and the result of it is division into factions. When there is a factional split in literature based on the principle that he who is not with us is our enemy, and if he is our enemy we will find an occasion to do him in (this is a universal formula, group behavior in general; it does not exist only here but all over the world), so willy-nilly I came to the defense of certain writers. Those were unjust and tendentious attacks, whereas in literature, which is a sacred matter, tendentiousness must only be ethical and not defamatory. Here is one example: Kolosov's open letter published in OGONEK.

Why was that letter published specifically in OGONEK? Not in PRAVDA, not in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, not in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, not in ZNAMYA not in any other magazine but in OGONEK? ² I had criticized OGONEK at the party conference, which irritated that magazine and henceforth it has been opposed to my statements at the party conference and to my articles. In our literature, such things are known as settling accounts and I do not want to speak about it.

Kolosov had to resign as the editor of LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA. That weekly of the Russian republic, where there are 4,000 writers, has 60,000 subscribers at a time when circulation of other publications has hit 17 million or 14 million; it is not a serious newspaper, it is behind times and behind life, and writers in the secretariat of our Writers' Union concluded that he was not up to the job.

[Question] Which is the reason why he was removed, right?

[Bondarev] He retired, no one removed him. He retired even before that letter.³ This is the kind of question that is even unpleasant to answer. Also, later there was a response in PRAVDA by several writers to that letter, I don't know if you have seen it.

[Question] And why was the letter of other writers—some 10 or 11 of them—who defended OGONEK, not published in PRAVDA? Why did PRAVDA not publish it?

[Bondarev] I can't answer why Afanasyev, PRAVDA's editor, didn't publish it. But that letter was later published in OGONEK. And it was summarized in PRAVDA. At least it was summarized there and later published in OGONEK.

Afanasyev is responsible for his newspaper. I can't advise him. It is not my prerogative to advise PRAVDA's editor-in-chief what he should or shouldn't print.

Please understand that relationships in our writers' milieu are not so simple, and I can't give you a simple yes-or-no answer about them. Because even among ourselves, in our writers' milieu, we sometimes can't get it straight.

[Question] Yuriy Vasilyevich, you are a secretary of the RSFSR Writers' Union. And now we have seen articles in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and ARGUMENTY I FAKTY suggesting that the Writers' Union has outlived its purpose and that it is a purely administrative kind of body which once ejected Pasternak and which now serves only to keep writers on a short leash.

My question is as follows: what is your own personal attitude to this, to such statements I mean, and what in your opinion the Writers' Union should be like, since you are its secretary. This is the first question.

And the second question is: the Writers' Union was the only organization which took no part in the "Memorial" society week in Moscow at the House of Culture of the Electric Lamp Factory. What do you think of it?

[Bondarev] The Writers' Union contributed R100,000 to "Memorial." The Writer's Union is one of "Memorial's" founders.⁴ This is my answer.

[Question] Apparently, we were misinformed here.

[Bondarev] You must be more precise, see what I mean? I, for instance, didn't go to that meeting. I was not in Moscow at all at the time. I don't know who did go. And what is the problem, anyway? Some people went, others didn't. Just like it was your choice to come to this meeting. We live in a democratic country. Why do we have to come to this or that event, as if under orders? Please, don't give me this. Everyone is free to do whatever he wants with himself. Within general ethical limits, let us say.

And now about the other thing. You've mentioned the Writers' Union. That it is some kind of a police station. This is wrong. Everything is decided democratically. How could they even write that? Who would I take orders from? And who would take orders from me? How could it be like that? You are a writer and I am a writer. You, as they used to say, plumbs the depths of human soul, and so do I. It is difficult to measure, as is done here, by the number of books and the quantity of talent; it is unethical even, since no one can know what kind of book a writer may have in him.

Some people want to abolish the Writers' Union. (And if the majority wants it, let it be.) First it should be diluted and then abolished. Alright, let it disappear. But don't you understand that we have no trade union? The Writers' Union is its replacement, in a way.⁵ What do you think we, secretaries, do? We fight to get apartments. What do you think, it is so easy? Do you think that writers automatically get an 8- or 3-room apartment? It

does not happen this way. We fight for them. And also trips to resorts. And material support, too, because writers are not millionaires, contrary to what OGONEK writes. The average writer's salary is—don't be surprised—R162 a month.⁶ Excluding, of course, the most popular writers who publish a lot and are popular among the people, and so forth. But those are few.

I didn't invent that figure; it is a published figure. We also have the Litfund. It provides financial help. And a convalescents' home. Writers also get sick, you know. Their average age is around 60. We have few youngsters thus far.

In other words, if most writers want to dissolve the union, it will be dissolved. No one will keep them by force.

Footnotes

1. From the 16th century until 1925 the city was called Tsaritsin after the Tsaritsa river.

2. Quote from the letter to PRAVDA signed V.Bykov, B.Vasilyev, A.Voznesenskiy, D.Granin, I.Drutse, V.Dudintsev, Ye.Yevtushenko, F.Iskander, B.Okudzhava and A.Pristavkin: "We also feel that accusations against OGONEK for publishing the open letter to Yuriy Bondarev are unfounded. It was not 'crafted' by the magazine, to quote the authors of the 'Letter of the Seven', but submitted by writer and war veteran M.Kolosov, editor-in-chief of LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, (now former editor-in-chief). And it does not contain insults against 'the famous artist' but complaints against Yu.Bondarev as deputy chairman of the RSFSR Writers' Union and accusations of using administrative command methods to run the newspaper."

3. M.M.Kolosov's letter was published before the first of the year; he was forced to retire by the secretariat of the RSFSR Writers' Union on January 9, 1989.

4. "Memorial's" founders are the USSR Architects' Union, the USSR Designers' Union, the USSR Cinematographers' Union, the USSR Theatrical Society, OGONEK, the USSR Artists' Union and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. The Writers' Union was not among "Memorial's" founders.

5. The Litfund carries out the main functions of a trade union.

6. This was in fact the figure published in OGONEK (No.43, 1988). As to writers' superprofits, OGONEK wrote only about certain writers who use their powers as officials to issue excessive runs of their works and republish new editions.

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Language Society Discusses Implementing Ukrainian Orthography, Place-Names

18110078 Kiev SILSKI VISTI in Ukrainian
4 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by O. Koshchenko: "New Ukrainian Orthography"]

[Text] A meeting of the council of the Ukrainian Language Society imeni Taras Shevchenko was recently held. One of the items discussed at the meeting was the new revised rules of Ukrainian orthography.

How do you pronounce the sound "g" in the words "ganok" and "argus"? Like an "h"? No, this is a voiced velar stop, and at one time the Ukrainian language had a letter to designate it. Today both the "h" sound and the "g" sound are indicated by the same letter. When did the letter disappear from our alphabet? It was probably when the rules of orthography of our language were being revised. Has this occurred many times? When does the need arise to revise a language's rules of orthography? Doctor of Philological Sciences Andriy Andriyovych Buryachok, scientific associate at the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Linguistics imeni O. O. Potebnya, began his keynote address at the meeting with an answer to these questions.

The first systematized rules of Ukrainian orthography were issued in 1928, while the rules of orthography we use today date from 1946. A revised edition of these rules was published after the 20th CPSU Congress.

"But the system of orthography precisely in this most recent edition cannot be called complete or ideal," stated A. A. Buryachok. "It contains many exceptions to the rules, which introduces unnecessary confusion in our writing. Our institute has received and is receiving letters from people who make use of the rules of orthography, with comments on the writing of specific words and interpretive commentary on them. Today, in a period of democratization of society, we have a genuine opportunity to improve the system of orthography of our language. A team at the institute has drafted a new edition of the rules of orthography...."

What do the scholars propose? First of all they propose to reinstate the graphic symbol for the voiced velar stop "g". Secondly, they demand regularization of the rules for writing certain foreign words. One of the most painful issues facing Ukrainian orthography is that of our geographic names. Why Rovno and not Rivne? Why Severodonetsk when for centuries people have spoken and written it as Siversko-Donetsk? There are many villages in the Ukraine with names which came to us via translations, such as Pervomaysk, Pobeda, Oktyabske, Severne, and Yuzhna Lomuvatka. Perhaps we should return the Ukrainian names to these localities. We should also restore the vocative case, which is characteristic of the Ukrainian language.

Pronunciation and writing of the letter combinations "dzh", "dz", and "zhzh" were discussed at the meeting. These sounds should phonetically merge when pronounced. But nowadays children in the schools pronounce them separately. A. A. Buryachok suggests the following: "Place a ligature symbol above these letter combinations." Others have suggested creating special letters for them. I wonder what linguists have to say about this?

Why are borrowed words ending with the letter "o" not declined in Ukrainian? And there is confusion with borrowed proper names—they are declined not following Ukrainian rules of orthography. In addition, each proper name should be translated into another language in accordance with how it sounds in its native language. For example, we have the river Dnipro and the city Kyiv; why have they been rendered into Russian as "Kiyev" and "Dnepr," and why are they pronounced the same way in English and French?

The discussion of the need to issue new Ukrainian rules of orthography continued for a good three hours. Writers, linguists, physicists, cyberneticists, and radioecologists [ecologists specializing in effects of radioactive contamination of the environment?] spoke.... A great many suggestions and comments were made. There were heated debates. One thing is clear: there is an urgent need for new rules of orthography. Of course it will take some time for this collective effort by our scholars to be completed. A great deal of work is needed, and a great many ideas will be studied. Submit your own suggestions, esteemed readers. Write us. We shall pass your letters on to the council of the Ukrainian language Society imeni Taras Shevchenko.

AzSSR Creates Literary Translation Center
1830618 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian 17 May 89 p 7

[Interview with Aydyn Mamedov by L. Goldshteyn:
"Translations: Bridges of Friendship"]

[Text] By a decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, the Republic Center for Literary Translation and Literary Contacts has been created in Baku. The Center's director, literary specialist and critic Aydyn Mamedov, narrates it:

[Mamedov] In creating the Center, we considered our main task to be building bridges of friendship, assisting trust among peoples, mutual enrichment and mutual understanding of their cultures. And this, in turn, helps overcome national reticence, allowing the possibility to acknowledge a belonging not only to one people, but to all mankind.

[Goldshteyn] What has been the state of affairs with literary translation in the republic recently?

[Mamedov] In spite of a certain animation and an increase in the amount of world literature and literature in other national languages of the USSR being translated, the qualitative improvement of this work and the concentration of all creative skills in this field have become essentially necessary. The need to subordinate the translation economy to a single program, to fill in the "empty spaces," to accentuate attention, on the one hand, on the expansion of the geographic distribution of Azerbaijani literature, primarily the classics, beyond the limits of the republic, and on the other hand, to eliminate the spontaneous, haphazard ways that are applied in the translation of models of the literature of the nationalities of the USSR and the world into the Azerbaijani language.

It is no secret that until this time, we have not had a clear, fundamental policy on this issue. Translating has not always attracted sufficiently qualified specialists; frequently, it was not planned principles, but the translator's bidding, his personal tastes and biases would define this or that work. As far as the translation of modern writers from the Azerbaijani is concerned, to a great extent, this was decided by the initiative of the authors themselves, by their capacity to get things done, and not by the meaning and the worth of the works. Unfortunately, we have not made up our minds about the question of whether in the union republics, not to mention in foreign countries, there are many specialists interested in studying Azerbaijani literature. But we must answer: there are pitifully few.

[Goldshteyn] What are the first steps being undertaken by the Center?

[Mamedov] A single program for the cultural education of the reader is now being developed; it is being determined which works should be translated into the Azerbaijani language, and which books of our authors should be translated into other languages. Staffs of highly qualified translators are being selected, who can translate directly from the original at the needed level. Literal poetic translations are being prepared; they will become the reliable basis for further literary translation.

I would like to pause on one extremely essential aspect. Literature accumulates within itself all of a people's trials and tribulations. Azerbaijani literature was formed on the basis of the historical development of common Turkic, and more broadly, common eastern culture. Take, for example, the inimitable Fizuli. Any of his verses, not only the new masterpieces of national poetic thought, but the continuation, the new probings of the possibilities of the Turkic word and common eastern poetics; the knowledge of the Azerbaijani language alone is not enough: one must have an understanding of the specifics of the poetic traditions of the Turkic languages, and a mastery of the secrets of eastern poetic symbolism. In a word, a fair translation of Fizuli and the other classics must be reinforced by the appropriate research work.

One more moment. Translating is a mutual enrichment not only of literatures, but of languages. In translating European literature, we are assisting in the discovery of the the potential of the lexicon, semantics, syntax and stylistics of the Azerbaijani language...

Together with attracting to the Center the specialists we already have, we must also think about the training of a new generation of translators. An all-union school of translators from Azerbaijani and into Azerbaijani will be organized. Sending students for study in Moscow, to other republics, and abroad is envisioned. In turn, we intend to invite students to study in Baku.

[Goldshteyn] What publication projects are being developed?

[Mamedov] The most varied sort, for they are calculated for an extended period. Among them are masterpieces of the folklore of the peoples of the USSR, the series of "Nobel Prized Laureates," "Masters of World Prose" and "Masterpieces of Modern Romance and Adventure Literature." The series "Fates and Documents" will be of special interest. Literal translations of the myths and legends of Azerbaijan, the creations of Nasimi, Fizuli and Sabir, will be prepared to translating them into various languages; a five-volume anthology of Azerbaijani literature is being prepared for publication in Moscow.

The Center still has more than a few unsolved problems; among them are its printing and publishing base, publishing rights and others. But we hope that by walking, we will cope with the path.

Ukrainian Infant Mortality Statistics

18300535 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
1 Mar 89 p 4

[Interview by PRAVDA UKRAINY Correspondent T. Mayboroda with Yelena Mikhaylovna Lukyanova, director of the Kiev Scientific-Research Institute of Pediatrics, Obstetrics, and Gynecology (NII PAG), active member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, and professor, under the rubric: "A Person is Born to Live"]

[Text] It is with this seeming truism that we begin our disturbing conversation about infant mortality with Director of the Kiev Scientific-Research Institute of Pediatrics, Obstetrics, and Gynecology (NII PAG), Academician of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, Professor Ye. M. Lukyanova

[Mayboroda] Yelena Mikhaylovna, you were among the delegates to the recent All-Union Congress of Pediatricians and you know how shaken were the physicians, not to mention the general public, by the statistics on infant mortality that have now become public knowledge after long years of suppression or underestimation...

[Lukyanova] Yes, that is actually so. In Turkmenia 56 out of every thousand newborn infants do not survive the first year of life, and that figure on the average for the country is more than 23. Today we rank in the fifties among the countries of the world in that category. For comparison, just five out of every 1,000 newborn in Japan do not live to one year.

[Mayboroda] How does the Ukraine stand up in that regard?

[Lukyanova] The situation in our republic is better than it is in the Central Asian republics and the Transcaucasus and somewhat better than in the Russian Federation, but worse than the Baltic countries and Belorussia. Infant mortality in the RSFSR is 19.3 per one thousand births. In Latvia it is 11.3, and in the UkSSR it is 13.8. Of course that alarms us.

[Mayboroda] Yelena Mikhaylovna, you head an institute whose scope has no comparison in our country. Indeed, in most cases abroad pediatrics exists separately from obstetrics and gynecology. What prompted you to combine these areas?

[Lukyanova] The conviction that the health of future adult to an enormous degree depends upon the conditions of his intrauterine life and the health of the mother. That is why we consolidated the skills of obstetricians, pediatricians, surgeons, and physicians of many other specialized fields to assure a high quality of medical care for women and children. This is yielding reassuring

results. Our institute offers prenatal and therapeutic-diagnostic assistance for the prenatal diagnosis of hereditary and congenital diseases. We were one of the first in the country to study intrauterine infections. All of this has been for the purpose of reducing early childhood mortality.

[Mayboroda] What are the most characteristic causes of such mortality?

[Lukyanova] The life and health of children depends upon a multitude of not only medical but social factors as well. And today social circumstances are such that unless their untoward manifestations are altered, the efforts of physicians will be fruitless. Just recall the Chernovits calamity that was caused by rather offensive industrial influences on the environment. And just think how much harm is done by heavy and at times harmful labor to both mother and progeny! More than 10 million women are engaged in the national economy of the Ukraine. As early as last year plans were being made to release those engaged in heavy labor. However, in fact only one-half of that number was released. In the Donets Oblast alone there are 10,000 women engaged in heavy labor, and many of those women work in rubber shoes, in drafty places, carry sacks and boxes... That is why more than 70 percent of the women who end up with unfavorable pregnancies and births complain about both physical fatigue and nervous-emotional fatigue.

[Mayboroda] One must say that women often consciously choose heavy physical work because of the certain privileges that go with such work...

[Lukyanova] Therein lies our problem. It is time to relieve women of the necessity of earning money at the expense of their health. I think that we should reexamine the wage scale for expectant mothers and provide them (as well as future mothers) with more significant benefits and family subsidies. Many countries of the world have established and pay out monthly subsidies for each child in the family regardless of the mother's employment status. It is also high time to consider a shortening of the work day for expectant women from the very beginning of their pregnancy. And women with a high risk level should be released from work if they so wish or be allowed to work on a part-time basis during this period.

I think that such measures would cost society less than the care required for premature and sick children, including the cost of treatment for such children in subsequent years.

[Mayboroda] As far as I understand, still born infants account for approximately one-third of all infant mortality cases. What is the reason for that?

[Lukyanova] First of all that is due to the marked increase in birth complications from one year to the next. Thus, in 1980 such births in the UkSSR accounted for 35.4 percent of the total number of births, and in 1985 that figure was 55.1 percent, and 60 percent in 1987.

The main reasons for such a sharp increase is the increase in the high risk pregnancy groups in connection with either an early or late start in sexual activity and the high frequency rate of abortions (more than a million abortions are performed annually in the UkSSR, whereas there are 700—800 thousand births). A consequence of such abortions is an increase in inflammatory gynecological diseases. The risk factor is exacerbated by unfavorable ecological factors as well as harmful habits on the part of the women themselves such as smoking and the use of alcohol and narcotics.

[Mayboroda] The Congress of Pediatricians gave first priority to the problem of reducing child mortality due to infectious pathology which accounts for one out of every four infant deaths...

[Lukyanova] That is quite right, and what is particularly alarming is the fact that this category of child mortality is markedly increasing in contrast to the former type which we have been able to reduce, even if only slightly. I must say that the basic cause of illnesses is the poor quality of sanitation in families, the lack of necessary primary prevention measures, and late hospitalization: More than 70 percent of the children who died from infectious diseases entered the hospital no earlier than the fifth day of their illness. It is with regret that one must state that there has been practically no reduction in child mortality over the last five years in the rural areas. The Odessa Oblast presents a particularly alarming situation for us in the Ukraine. The reasons for this are the social neglect in back wood villages, lack of roads, poor availability of medical personnel, and obsolescent equipment. Infant mortality did decrease by 15 percent after the problem of mother and child care was given wide publicity in the oblast.

[Mayboroda] So what must be done to assure that the life of a future infant will not be endangered?

[Lukyanova] One must repeat the banal truism, but a fact is a fact: Healthy infants are born of healthy mothers. And here, in addition to everything else, it is essential to intensify the role of prenatal consultations many of whose quality today is below any criticism. But we can those consultants more accountable merely by creating the conditions required for their effective operation. In some localities in our republic we still often yearn not only for contemporary diagnostic equipment which we, alas, must purchase with hard currency, but even for elementary instruments and drugs. The network of maternity homes is in no better situation. It is essential that we finally place medical-education efforts on an appropriate quality level in order to improve the

medical condition of women. That should be undertaken on a broad front—at the plants, VUZ's, and schools. We also have much to accomplish in order to improve maternity home operations and to improve methods for the resuscitation of newborn infants.

[Mayboroda] Yelena Mikhaylovna, what do you think of the letters from people who disturbed and offended by the callousness, heartlessness, indifference, and incompetence of medical personnel?

[Lukyanova] That is a painful and aggravating problem. Of course, the recently published data about the professional unsuitability of more than half of the selectively certified physicians constitute a scandalous fact. One cannot help thinking that for most of them the Hippocratic oath was nothing more than a traditional ritual. In order to correct that situation in the field of medicine, our first priority should be concern about a worthy replacement. Educational work should be placed on the necessary level in all functioning health institutions and greater demands should be made of medical personnel at all levels.

Factories Implicated in Birth of Handicapped Children

18110075b Kiev *MOLOD UKRAYINY* in Ukrainian
4 Mar 89 p 2

[Article, published under the rubric "Ecology," by Lyudmila Chugunova, resident of the town of Irpin, Kiev Oblast: "Hostage to the General Manager"]

[Text] Last year 33 babies were born crippled in the residential districts of Irpen located near the Peremoha [Russ. Pobeda; Victory] and Progress combines. This is more than 50 percent of all such births recorded in the city. In these areas the central nervous system of newborn babies is most frequently affected.

The Kiev Oblast public health station [sanepidemstantsiya; sanitation, health, hygiene, and epidemiological station] has figures indicating that each year the Peremoha Combine discharges 503.7 tons of harmful pollutants into the atmosphere, including 125.8 tons of particulates and 338.9 tons of gases. These materials include plexiglass dust, boron nitrite, sulfur dioxide, formaldehyde, acetone, solvent naphtha, polyester resins, aluminum oxide, acetaldehyde, and oxides of nitrogen. The degree of harmful effect on humans by such substances as cumene hydroperoxide, thiokol compounds, and naphthenates has not even been determined. At a radius of 300 meters from the combine the concentration of these substances exceeds the allowable level by a factor of eight. There is housing located much closer than this distance. High-rise buildings are steadily growing simultaneously with and alongside industrial production shops: some are only 15 meters from the combine.

The first apartment building was erected here 17 years ago. It is not surprising that the health of its tenants is in a critical state. Railroad tracks, with intolerable traffic, lie right under their windows. Trains shuttle back and forth day and night; excavators bellow noisily, unloading cement, nepheline, and crushed rock. People protested, sought recourse from the city executive committee, public health authorities, and even the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, but in vain. At best they received promises on paper, but construction of another rail spur began right under their windows, as if in mockery, plus a reinforced concrete products plant, equipped with powerful vibrators.

"Construction of a basalt fiber section, a basalt fiber plant shop, and a combine plant was carried out without the approval of the municipal public health authorities, and with health protection zone violations," reads a sanepidemstantsiya report.

Combine general manager Ion Markovych Dekhtyar has a unique method which has been tried and proven over the course of many years of practical experience. First he builds plain, ordinary storage buildings or warehouses, and after he obtains some required signatures, he places industrial production equipment in them. The solid waste, effluent, and emissions from these facilities are polluting a health-resort locality, for Irpin, as sarcastic as such a statement may sound, is a health-resort locality [kurortne mistechko].

The black smoke rising from the fires in the dump where the general manager of the Peremoha Combine has ordered harmful production waste to be burned is the same black smoke as 10 years ago. The windows of the area's apartments offer quite a view! The combine is not spending a single cent to haul waste out of town. Raw effluent is dumped into the Buchanka River, the banks of which are now bereft of all life. There used to be lake by the combine. When they pumped the water out of the lake, big carp lay strewn about the lake bottom, dying. Later they filled in the lake, and on this site they proceeded to prepare for construction of shops for the production of linoleum and exterior paints. The community voiced vigorous opposition against the "prospects" of such construction, for Irpin is part of the capital city's park belt. Irpin is called Kiev's lungs.

But combine management is stubbornly seeking permission for this construction.

The townspeople are by now well acquainted with this "method." For this reason their impassioned protests at gatherings dealing with environmental protection were for the most part directed personally at the general manager of the Peremoha Combine.

"Time and time again I have been forced in the middle of the night to put out these smoky fires under my windows. My children have developed chronic ailments. We are all hostages at the hands of Ion Dekhtyar! It is he

who is to blame for that policy of ecological brigandage practiced by the combine management," stated Leonid Vrana, who is employed by the Irpin Vohnetryvnyk [Russ. Ogneupor; Refractories] cooperative.

"We are ecologically defenseless in the face of arbitrary rule by government agencies. In my opinion criminal charges should be brought against those persons who have brought us to this state of affairs," stated Olena Semenova, head of the department of organization of labor and wages of the Ukrremstroyaterialy Trust. "They tell us: 'The Peremoha Combine is generating profit, and this is beneficial to the town!' What is happening is that they are obtaining profit in exchange for our health. Is that not too high a price to pay?"

The Dubky rest hostel is situated near the Peremoha Combine. It is presently being renovated: people refused to stay in its shabby barracks-like accommodations. But what can they be offered in the future other than invariably polluted air? And who is going to want to take a rest cure in Irpin and swim in the dirty waters of what was once a lovely river?

Irpin is considered to be a health resort. It even bottles two varieties of spring water [kurortna voda]. But does a town have the right to be called a health-resort town when it is developing in quite the opposite direction? What efforts must be made in order once and for all to put an end to this senseless assault on nature and to put the chemical industry outside the city?

Chernobyl Radiation Effects on Pregnancies Discussed

18110071 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian
22 Feb 89 p 4

[Article, published under the heading "Fact and Commentary," by Ye. Krasnovskyy: "Place of Birth—Chernobyl"]

[Text] We are sitting in the kitchen of an apartment unit in a "Chernobyl" dormitory, drinking fragrant tea made with aromatic herbs. Olena Chervinska is telling us how things are going for her and her family.

"I am actually from Krasnodar Kray, but I came to Chernobyl from Krivoy Rog right after the nuclear accident. I was employed as a cook—I am a food service technician by training—and I was subsequently placed in charge of this dormitory. Kutrusya was also born here. Why did the birth take place in the zone? You know, everything was so unexpected. As I recall, on that day I was busy with the usual routine: checking things in the dormitory, and receiving bed linen. And suddenly, I was in labor...."

She got up and went into the adjoining room to see what her little daughter was up to.

"Will you look at that!" we heard Olena's voice. We hurried into the adjoining room and saw that Katrusya, who had gotten a lipstick from the dresser, was busily painting her cheeks. Well, she was certainly acting like a grown-up woman, although she had just celebrated her first birthday on 3 February.

"Will you look at that!" Olena gazed, pleased, at her daughter's cosmetic endeavors. "Just like any normal child. And if you knew how many frightening predictions there were, that this and that would be wrong with her. But I didn't believe them."

There certainly were plenty of trepidations and prognostications, and no wonder. It was no joke: Chernobyl had experienced such a high level of radiation that many people even hastened to leave Kiev, but this woman not only spent her entire pregnancy here, practically at "ground zero," but had even given birth to her child here. Fortunately the prognostications have not yet come true. Every 45 days Olena and her daughter are given a thorough medical examination, and both are perfectly healthy. This is now, but what about in the future? What do the experts have to say about it? Read on....

Specialist Commentary

V. F. Gonchar, doctor in the clinical examination department at Kiev Municipal Children's Clinical Hospital No 14: "Many pregnant women from the Chernobyl zone have been clinically examined by our department. And all of them have had a normal childbirth. Neither the mothers nor their babies showed any congenital abnormalities. Although there were some deviations from the norm, they were not more numerous than in other localities. Could negative phenomena crop up at a later time? That is hard to say: we are dealing with a unique situation here. This is why these children are under the constant scrutiny of geneticists and other specialists. What is my own personal opinion about giving birth to this little girl in the zone? As a woman I can understand Olena's desire to have a child. As a doctor, however, I must condemn the decision. In my opinion she should not have done this, since she does not know what the consequences will be."

O. M. Lukyanova, professor and academician of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, director of the Kiev Scientific Research Institute of Pediatrics, Obstetrics and Gynecology and the Republic Center for Protection of the Health of Mother and Child of the UkSSR Ministry of Health: "At our institute a number of children have been born by women who had been in the disaster zone. Everything appears normal at present. But neither I nor anybody else can say what might occur 5 or 10 years down the road, although the geneticists project that we should not expect any significant deviations. As regards an increase in congenital abnormalities in general, this is a result not only of radiation but also of chemical pollution and environmental problems in our country and abroad. I can state specifically the following about

Karusya Chervinska: I don't think that her future should cause any particular concern due to the fact that she was born in the zone, for Olena's stay in Chernobyl began after radiation levels had dropped to more or less satisfactory figures."

I. A. Likhtarev, professor and doctor of physical and mathematical sciences, USSR State Prize recipient, head of the department of dosimetry and radiation hygiene of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences All-Union Scientific Center for Radiation Medicine, and member of the USSR National Commission on Radiation Protection: "For some reason people associate with the word Chernobyl the maximum radiation doses which a person can receive. In actuality this is not the case at all. Those who are presently working in the zone are receiving insignificant, so-called normal doses. According to the figures of studies conducted in 1987, this dose was running 0.36 rem annually for persons working in the zone. As for this specific case, the most dangerous period for Chervinska was between the 8th and 15th week of pregnancy, when the baby's organs and tissues were forming. Also on the basis of the overall situation, Katrusya could have received not more than 50-60 millirems, that is, not large enough a dose to cause any changes. Does this mean that one could say to everybody residing in Chernobyl: Go ahead, have babies? Not at all, for in addition to dosimetric calculations there is a so-called radiation discipline barrier. Nor would I personally recommend that my wife live there. Although theoretically the fact that the child was born healthy is in conformity with what scientists would expect."

Reporter Commentary

There you have it. The experts are in agreement: everything is fine with Katrusya Chervinska at the present time, but nobody is willing to predict what might happen in the future. And since that is the case, the following question naturally arises: how could this have happened in the first place? Are we not to blame Olena herself, who wanted to prove that one can give birth to a normal child even in conditions of high radiation levels? The Chernobyl tragedy demonstrated that even the most highly competent individuals could not in the beginning (and some are unable even today) to predict its magnitude and consequences. But there were also many who were well aware of what menace radiation presents. Why then did they not warn her? Why did they allow a woman not only to remain in the zone during her entire pregnancy but even to give birth there?

There can only be one reason: negligence, laxity, and indifference. They certainly were able to see, they could not help but see O. Chervinska's condition at that time, but nobody showed the slightest concern about her fate. And all this in view of the situation at the time! Even now, a year after Katrusya's birth, one of us inquired with a number of leading specialists in order to obtain her Kiev address, and every last one of them stated: "It's the first I've heard of it."

And yet this case is far from run-of-the-mill. The fact is that pregnant women who happened to be in the zone at the time of the disaster may have received higher doses than O. Chervinska. But Chervinska, we repeat, not only spent her entire period of pregnancy there but gave birth in the zone as well. Does not this very fact merit attention?

Nevertheless we shall end our story on an optimistic note. Looking at the sturdily-built, healthy, and happy Katrusya, we extend to her the wish that she remain thus her entire, long life.

'Fascist' Youth Groups Active in Leningrad

18001011 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian
No 15, 10-16 Apr 89 pp 14-15

[Article by Vitaliy Yereimin: "Fashiki"]

[Text] Preparing for a business trip, I telephoned every jurist, sociologist, and social psychologist I knew. I wanted to find out if we had a scientific collective in Moscow that would have studied a phenomenon such as juvenile's fascination with fascism. They gave me the geography of the phenomenon (Alma-Ata, Kemerovo, Minsk, Moscow, Novosibirsk, Klaypeda, Belaya Tserkov, Riga, Bratsk, Sverdlovsk, Taganrog, Karaganda, Kislovodsk, and Samarkand Oblast), the approximate time when this craze began (the early 1970's), and two or three persons who had conducted private research at one time. "How might I read this?" I asked. "You want a lot," he laughed. "They gave this research four zeros and hid them away in safes."

After arriving in Leningrad, I saw that the intentional or unintentional conspiracy was continuing.

"What can you tell me about youths who call themselves 'fascists'?" I asked Valentina Danilovna Bolokan, an inspector at the 5th Militia Precinct.

"My ideas are still in rough form," answered the inspector, who was not new to the 5th Precinct. "I'm afraid to say something untrue."

Strange... It was on the territory of this precinct that the meeting places of the "fascists," well-known to every Leningrad youth, were located: the cafe called "Saygon" across from the Moscow Restaurant and the vending-machine cafe known on the street as "Gastrit." It was at the "Gastrit" that, on the eve of our conversation with the inspector, the well-known fascist K. cut a person his own age with a knife and then in the militia car whipped out a grenade from his pocket, pulled the pin, and ordered them to go where he told them.

"How many wards do you have altogether?" I asked.

"Well...that's classified," the inspector looked askance at the dictaphone.

A public affairs associate of the Leningrad Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration, surrounded by stacks of newspaper and magazine clippings, threw up his hands:

"You can look for yourself. Not a single item on 'fascists'."

I obtained confirmation only in the editorial office of the oblast Komsomol newspaper SMENA. Colleagues said that about a year ago the "fascists" themselves came to him. A whole group of about 30 people.

"What, that's what they called themselves, 'fascists'?" I asked again.

"They are proud of it!"

In the days that followed, I obtained quite a few other confirmations that the youths never hid their games of "fascists." Not earlier, at least 5 years ago, and not today. Parents, school teachers, instructors at vocational and technical schools and tekhnikums, and juvenile affairs inspectors knew about this. They simply could not help but know.

Here and there, swastikas were scribbled on the walls of houses and doorways. The lads write references to one another in a style of those quoted by Yulian Semenov in his "Seventeen Moments of Spring:" "a Nordic, courageous character," and so forth. They play "party" and start up "private businesses." They arrange for one another all sorts of tests of daring and cruelty. They drive to the suburbs of Leningrad and make excavations, find weapons and fascist insignia. They make items of Nazi symbolism and sell them in their circle for considerable amounts of money. They use vocational and technical school uniforms to make SS uniforms. They take their pictures in these clothes.

It is impossible, I repeat, not to know about all this, if only because recently all this information has been leaked out in one or two publications of the local press. But I can guess why the adults deny the seriousness of the phenomenon.

They earlier played and—owing to psychological inertia—continue to play the game imposed on them by the age of silence. You see, if they admit all this, they also have to admit their blame and bear responsibility, not having any opportunity to share the responsibility with others, superiors, with all of society. So disastrous was the cursed time that the main thing was kept secret: No one dared to speak directly about general mistakes, general misconceptions, and consequently general blame. You see, it is only from this that general liberation from mistakes and stupidity can begin.

Let us recall the words of Georgiy Dimitrov, a communist who courageously accepted the challenge from the Nazism elite and who won the open polemics: "We must under no circumstances underestimate the strength of

the ideological infection of fascism," he said, "for fascism not only stirs up the prejudices that have become ingrained in the masses, but also plays on the best feelings of the masses, on the feeling of justice and sometimes even on their revolutionary traditions..."

We can treat the "fascists" with indignation, mockery, however we like. But, as history teaches, we must not underestimate the growing danger, especially now, at a crucial time. We must fight this phenomenon decisively. But to do this, we must know it well.

In Leningrad, there are no "pure fascists" that correspond completely to the stereotype that has been established in our mind. That is why the young people have semi-contemptuously nicknamed them "fashiki." The "fashiki" themselves do not perceive anything insulting in this name and call themselves the same thing. This is the result of an age-old craving of youth for unusual words and slang.

The so-called "transport fashiki," lads who come to Leningrad from the suburbs and neighboring communities, hold the least prestigious position. They may be encountered at the Moscow Train Station, near booths and kiosks. And if you approach them correctly, they willingly tell you how they see themselves and what place they hold, as it appears to them, in the existing "movement." The "transport fashiki" literally burst open with pride in that they know better than their urban counterparts where to carry out excavations at battle sites more successfully.

Future researchers probably will divide the "fashiki" into two basic types, differing by the degree of contact. In this sense, the "transport fashiki" are the most open, who see their affiliation with the "movement" only as a way to gain prestige among their rural peers and to force the urban ones to respect them. The normal garb of the "fashiki" is black jackets, black shirts, in general, clothing that is predominantly black, it seems is quite sufficient for the "transport fashiki." They try to avoid discussion about racial superiority; they need only to feel that the person they are talking to is in the mood not only to listen open-mouthed, but also to object.

"Well, what about Pushkin?" I asked him. "If he were alive now and married Natalya Goncharova, he would catch it from the likes of you, wouldn't he?"

You must give my nighttime interlocutors their due. They said nothing.

And they were almost considerate. They asked me to show them what I had in my bag. They saw the dictaphone and just as politely asked permission to light a match to see if the tape was running. Convinced that it was not moving, they began telling me everything about

the urban "fashiki." For the information of future researchers: This is perhaps the simplest method of working—listen to what one variety of "fashiki" thinks about the other.

Unlike the "transport fashiki," the urban "fashiki" (at least one out of two) travel not on the electric trains but on their own motorcycles. We have a property inequality here and, consequently, constant strain in relations. Envy gnaws at some; the sense of superiority so necessary for the Nordic character grips others. For example, there is a group in which the boys and girls are choice, tall, with light-brown hair (or dyed blond), with gray eyes, and who consider themselves "true Arians" and believe that others are, of course, below them. Who would like this, even among their own "fashiki?"

Later I found out that it was this group that visited the editorial office of SMENA. The "Arian signs" were not enough for the lads, and they decided to make their figures more Nordic. They asked the journalists to petition the Komsomol raykom to allocate a facility for "rocking horse" equipment. Likely, this was not the only chance, but a sufficiently realistic one to make direct contact with the "fashiki" and to lessen the feeling of hostility toward the Komsomol and influence their world outlook. But at the raykom they would not even listen to the journalists: "Work with the 'fascists'?! Never! After all, they are enemies!" "But they are our 'fascists'!" the lads from SMENA tried to drive home the point. "Never!" they repeated at the raykom.

At some moment, it became clear to the "fashiki" that the crosses which they were pulling on and the swastikas they drew wherever they saw fit were annoying not only the Komsomol workers, but also the vast majority of young people. Recently, the strange symbols NF have appeared on the walls of houses and doorways. The "fashiki" have renamed themselves the "National Front" and thought up this abbreviation. Apparently, they looked closely at life around them and heard over television about the prestige enjoyed in certain republics by the People's Fronts in support of perestroika using this almost fashionable word "front."

The various categories of our young people realized in different ways their place in the changes taking place. This process of realization on the part of the "fashiki" probably could be made controllable. We could at least make an attempt. But next to the wall which the "fashiki" have erected between themselves and society's political system is another wall, erected by the Leningrad Komsomol workers.

Customarily claiming to represent all our young people, they took a no less antagonistic stand than the "fashiki," apparently believing that several hundred "morally depraved persons" do not make the difference and do not have any influence. The "fashiki" were changing

their methods. But the Komsomol did not wish to change its approach to them. I am afraid that we will have to pay a considerably price for such inflexibility.

"Why do they call it the 'National Front'? What nation does it intend to represent?"

"It is a play on words and nothing more," I heard from a Komsomol worker.

"But who has been introduced to this 'national front'? Its existence still has to be proven," the above-mentioned inspector for juvenile affairs said.

Valentina Danilovna Bolokan gave some very correct assessments. She said that the "fashiki" were a unique reaction to negative phenomena. That regardless of how they "put on airs" and no matter what absurd pranks they permitted themselves, they are still our children. That some "loudmouths"—offsprings of officials, businessmen, and the "elite" looking down on those their own age from simple families—are hardly better than that group of "true Arians" that came to the editorial office. That something must be done immediately, and not only with the "fashiki." That we are demanding of youths that which we have not been able to instill in them. Nevertheless, the youths are much better than we know, including perhaps many "fashiki."

Whereas the Komsomol workers did not even want to hear about the possibility of some contact with the "fashiki," Valentina Danilovna spoke a bunch of correct general words. But when the conversation turned to the question of how to work with the "fashiki," the inspector began to display her apparently customary propensity for purely militia methods, while political methods require, above all, political means.

The "fashiki" who were turned down in their "rocking horse," quickly found a way out of their predicament. They went to an athletic club organized by Afghan vets.

"And there they did not ask who we were."

"But they could identify you by your clothing."

"Rubbish! There aren't many who wear black jackets. Moreover, there is something in common between what we and the Afghan vets are involved in. They are also stern lads. And they dislike roughly the same things that we do."

"Namely?"

"The fact that many have unearned income, and those around them turn a blind eye to this. Some talk about the mafia, but where are the cases? Why was Churbanov given only 12 years? He should have faced a firing squad!"

This conversation unexpectedly sprang up in a semi-basement bar, where one could sit for a reasonable price.

Asking questions, I feverishly reflected: How can I write about this? There is the usual pattern. Call the "fashiki" defilers of the national memory, outcasts, "Ivans who don't remember their kinship." Blame the Komsomol raykom: It is not working at all with these morally depraved persons. Reproach the militia: They are doing a poor job of breaking them up.

"They rarely write about you, but they still write. What do you think about this?" I ask a 'fashik' about 19 years old.

"Everyone is afraid of us," he says. "The press, too! In the evening, somewhere on the square, you would not have approached us."

I learned from talking with them further that they despise us for what we write about them. This is first of all. Secondly, they read a bit, spit...and continue to believe in what they believe. And they continue the verbal agitation among their peers.

There are dozens of places in Leningrad where the "fashiki" meet. And everywhere younger boys, hang around them and listen spellbound. That is, they freely spread their views among those who can be tempted by the game of fair-haired rogues, Nordic character, supreme race, and "Black International." We have many youths without their own world outlook, but who want to believe in something, to live for the sake of something.

But we, avoiding open, strict polemics with the "fashiki," are depriving ourselves of the opportunity to refute their views convincingly and unintentionally save them (the "fashiki") from inevitable self-exposure: you see, they simply cannot discredit themselves, they only have to open their mouth or write a few phrases.

"EDITOR! I am not writing 'Respected Editor' because you represent the organ of the Soviet system, which I do not respect. Now we have what is called glasnost. I can curse the old and talk about how slowly the new is coming to life. I do not want to express my opinion, but the opinion of the majority of today's young people. This is all more verbiage. There is no difference between the old and the new. Only the sign has been changed, but the goods are the same. I cannot understand, why everyone is rejoicing so? Is it because they have removed the bandages from their eyes, the plugs from their ears, and the gags from their mouths? Who gave you the right to make us deaf-and-dumb and sightless? And our hands are still tied, and at the top they are the same... Just try to open the borders. Then what?"

"Now in the press they flash items about punks, heavy metallists, rockers and, the most dreadful—'fascists.' And this is in our country! Where did they come from, you ask? I will tell you. Young people do not want to live under the

red banner any more because they see in the example of their fathers what this leads to. And they stand under other banners, sometimes even without really knowing what they call for. For young people, one thing is important. They are AGAINST. That is precisely why on the nights before holidays they tear down the red flags from the fronts of our houses.

"Go out on Nevskiy in the evening. Look into the faces of the lads in black jackets. This is not a childhood disease. Many of them are more than 25 years old. They will not rest, and they will not let you rest. You will have to answer for everything in full.

"Even the half-humans from poorly developed African countries make fun of us. What have you turned our muzhik into! Into a drunkard and a weakling! But you made a fatal mistake when you took the bottle away from him. Just wait! He will get tired of it, he will understand who is living off him!

Print my letter with a request that readers comment on it. Let us see who there are more of and who is right. I am confident that the majority of young people share my views. I challenge you, let us see if you are brave enough to pick up the gauntlet.

"Miron," "NF National Front"

"Miron" obviously belongs to the most fanatical "fashiki." According to data of the press-group of the political department of the Leningrad Oblispolkom Administration of Internal Affairs, S.I. Mironov, who goes by the nickname "Miron," was earlier convicted under Article 146, Section 2 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (robbery) and Article 122 (persistent evasion of paying alimony). Today, he is serving out his sentence in a hard labor colony for new crimes: misappropriation of state property and theft of documents.

But there are other "fashiki" who are quiet, inconspicuous, and who conceal their true names and their real faces, but just as dangerous. I have before me a letter from one of these "quiet" ones. He is a university student who has not been convicted and obviously considers himself to be an intellectual. Well, let's let him show you what he preaches. We will again tell ourselves: Be calm! Not a single word of the letter just quoted has destroyed the fundamentals of our life. And this letter will not destroy them either.

"...You write so much about informal groups: heavy metallists, culturists... But I have not once seen you write about our Russian fascists. There has not been a single word about the Leningrad fascists who have the strongest organization in the country. It is as if such a movement did not exist at all, but are just fanatical young people.

"We also had a fascist organization in our city, but the authorities broke it up. And they think that that was the end of it. But that was not the case. The movement lives and prospers. As you probably guessed, I also consider myself a fascist and am proud of it.

"They often say: How can you, after all, your leader Hitler annihilated 20 million of our people!

"Communists are now disavowing Stalin. But the values that they impose on us are not changing. Take, for example, the thesis on the so-called equality of all peoples. Its ludicrousness is apparent to everyone.

"I assert: Fascism alone is the real alternative to the degeneration of the nation. We demand an end to assimilation, the destruction of handicapped individuals who are disgracing the nation with their existence, sterilization of inferior peoples, and resolution of the housing problem by resettlement of inferior people from well-appointed apartments.

"I am confident that very many will support us. At the university at which I am studying, the majority of students favorably perceive my arguments, and the rest are inferior people who do not have the right to existence.

"I am confident that you will not print my letter. I am writing simply out of boredom, in the break between pairs. There will now be a seminar on Marxist-Leninist philosophy, where as usual I will get an A, although that nonsense that I will talk is repulsive to me.

"Rostislav Ts., 22 years old, Vladivostok.

"I am not writing my name because I do not want to be kicked out of the university.

I can imagine the indignation of another reader: Why quote misanthropic hostile scribble so extensively? Be calm, comrades! But then, we know now what the "fashiki" preach and how we must answer them. And let us be self-critical. Both "Miron" and the mysterious Ts. were not brought up in the Jugendfolk. They wore Pioneer neckties. They were not nurtured by Hitler-Jugend. They were, and many still are, Komsomol members. Their fathers were not SS officers, but normal Soviet citizens and even party members. And they are not German by blood, but are those whom the Nazis wanted to destroy. Among the "fashiki" today are young people of various nationalities. They are the same ones the fascists considered to be the lowest races.

That is, there is no reason for us to see them, the "fashiki," as enemies who grew up on a different national and ideological basis. These are our fascists, or rather "fashiki." And before beginning to tell them off for the trouble they are cooking up in their heads, we must first ask ourselves something.

We know from history: Napoleon also led the French to Moscow and caused our people considerable trouble. But neither immediately after the Patriotic War of 1812 nor many years later, our young people for some reason did not play the invaders.

From the history of Nazism we know that it did not emerge in an empty place. It was the result of a specific social psychology, a primitive mass consciousness, an inability to analyze critically, and a desire to free themselves of the yoke of solitude, fears, uncertainty in the future and to stifle the feeling of aimlessness of existence and the sensation of their own insignificance in the face of endless problems.

In asking ourselves, we inevitably must recognize our tremendous propensity for extremes. Let us recall: First we depicted the fascists in a cartoon form. (The old people even maintain that, during the war, we even drew the blood of the Nazis using green paint.) This was psychologically wrong, for it detracted from the significance of our victory. But what began later, sometime in the 1970's, the so-called "humanizing of the enemy," was even worse, as we now are finding out.

Every year, we were twisted by the "Seventeen Moments of Spring," where the SS troops clicked their heels and demonstrated their Nordic cold-bloodedness, when Russian bombs were already blowing up over their heads, Father Mueller was not inferior to Stierlitz either in intellect, insight, or charm... Yes, there were many moments in this film when even we adults froze in ecstasy: My, what an interesting enemy to be fighting! Yulian Semenov did not resort to extremes in anything. The actors and the directors of the film obviously did resort to extremes in demonstrating the "negative fascination." (And not only of this film!) Now let us consider, how many times during these same years we saw the true, documentary face of the deadly enemy shown in the film "Ordinary Fascism"? I cannot say accurately, but it was shown just recently over television—for the first time in many years.

The effect of the splendid "Seventeen Moments" (opposite what was expected) was intensified by life itself during the stagnant years. So, should we be surprised today that the dissatisfaction of the extremist portion of the young people (such have always been and always will be in democracy, extremes are inevitable) has grown into hatred?

The worse life, which we call the best educator, educated, the more importunate and foolish the system of public education, based on an artificial organization of political optimism, became. It was believed that love for the homeland and respect for social ideals are instilled in each individual personality automatically, that youths do not see life's contradictions and cannot form their own opinions according to these contradictions.

The last thing I want to receive after publication of this material are letters with suggestions to "improve," "intensify," or "refine" some or other forms and methods of education. Quickest possible democratic restructuring and comprehensive improving our entire life (a better educator) and bringing it closer to world models of sufficiency, culture, and democracy may become the most effective method of combating the "fashiki."

My business trip ran through the eve of the elections of 26 March. During those days, the people of Leningrad reminded me of people morally preparing for a decisive battle. Now we know: This bloodless battle took place in the voter precincts. It is a good lesson, both for the winners and the losers. It is important to me to confirm that the dissatisfaction that splashed out in my talks with young people who were not "fashiki" at all convincingly indicated that striving to hide this phenomenon is a big mistake.

We adults are all to blame for the protests of teenagers and young people are sometime extremist in nature and even lead to such a negative extreme as searching for an alternative in fascism; adolescents associate with it their illusory notion about real social order, real social justice, and real moral health and unity of the nation.

But let us get back to the letters. I think the readers will answer them better than me. The letters to the editor themselves will show if in fact the "fashiki" express the moods of the "majority of young people." But let us only pay attention to the most important issue. What do "fashiki" living at opposite ends of our country have in common? Above all, they state, it is a desire to return the supposedly lost national dignity to their people. But how?

A favorite amusement of the "fashiki" is to catch a passerby in the evening, force him to his knees, make him shout "Hail Hitler!", and kiss their hands. Even in Nazi Germany they did not come up with such baseness. Or perhaps this is a typically Slavic-fascist way of returning a citizen his dignity?

"So, are you for or against perestroika?" I asked the 'fashiki.'

"We are for it, but by other methods."

"Democratic or..."

"Or!"

"But, lads, we already went through that. A nation that imagined itself to be a select began blaming other nations for its misfortunes. And very soon, by inevitable logic, it is turned from victim into oppressor."

"Do you really not know how this ended? The entire world rose up against fascism! Next: Why do you indicate your 'National Front' with Latin letters? Why do you think up German names for yourselves?"

"Consider it for secrecy!"

"Then why not keep secret the word 'homeland,' which you love, and call it fatherland?"

I carried on this conversation just to show that I tested for myself how the "fashiki" are influenced by conviction and arguments. It was a very trying thing to do. But was it fun treating the plague? Or AIDS? To some this comparison may seem incorrect, abusive, and in the style of the era being discussed. But, you see, the fact that fascism is a social disease requires no proof. Otherwise, it (fascism) would not be pursued in the absolute majority of the countries of the world. If it is a disease, then squeamishness towards the treatment will not help, but will only hurt. And we must keep our nerve, a doctor does not have such a right—to insult a patient. He who can be saved, he who wants to be saved, must be saved!

But what about those who, from all indications, are nearly or totally hopeless?

One of the lads in the group in the semi-basement bar turned out to be a thinking chap. He explained lucidly, while other made a racket, about his own thoughts and why a long train of cruelties and violence drags behind the "fashiki."

Someone of them reads ideologists of fascism from time to time. Thus, a phrase by Spengler was put everyday use by the "fashiki": cruelty is an inherent quality of man. From this it followed that the best recommendation for joining the "National Front" is some or other display of the "inherent quality."

Here is a well-known instance: A group of "fashiki" dragged a forty-year-old man into a vacant building and tortured him using an electric heating device. The man lost consciousness—they drenched him with water and continued to torture him. The rubbed salt on his burns.

Seventeen-year-old tekhnikum student P. broke into a room in the girls student dormitory, strangled a girl, poured hair spray in her eyes, and poked another girl in the face with a cigarette butt.

Several years ago, "fashik" A.Z., dressed in a black SS uniform and armed with a German carbine obtained at battle sites, murdered a person gathering mushrooms in the woods near Leningrad.

After serving their term for the apartment thefts and assault and robbery, the "fashiki" nicknamed "Paul" and "Borman," raped two girls in perverted ways. And they began carving a swastika in the back of one of the girls. Using a knife turned out not to be as good the

fiends wanted, and they decided to improve the drawing using a razor. They cut and kept on saying: "Say that you love fascists!" "I love them," the girl moaned, unable to stand the torture. But the torture still continued.

So far, it is unknown what category of "fashiki" demonstrates the "inherent quality" on dead persons. Either beginning ones, or all in succession. But the fact that this happens is a fact known to every resident of Leningrad. Marble slabs at one of the memorials were shattered into small pieces, and a fascist helmet was pulled on the head of a sculpture of a sailor. A threat was painted on the statue: "We will give you no rest, sailors and dead persons!"

Both "Miron" and Ts. are trying to pass themselves and all "fashiki" off as such political fighters. (Although Ts. is the same criminal as "Miron" because he engages—in written form!—in agitation for the purpose of inciting racial and national dissension, prohibited by Article 74 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.) But even those few facts just enumerated show the "fashiki" to be the most inveterate criminals, who would be recognized as criminals in any other democratic country.

So, what should we do with those "fashiki" who obviously cannot be helped by the most intensive therapy of persuasion? I asked this question of Capt M.Ya. Balukhta, chief of the 5th Militia Precinct.

"Usually we take steps only toward those 'fascists' who have committed some or other criminal act," Mikhail Yakovlevich said. "I emphasize, only in these cases. Before, roughly a year ago, we could detain a juvenile if he was wearing a swastika or had some item of fascist symbolism on his person. This was permitted by Article 158 of the RSFSR Administrative Code. That is, we could bring them in for minor disorderly conduct. But later...you know how event have been developing. One time they protested, the next time... And now the 'fascists' know that they can pin anything they want on themselves."

"There were incidents in which 'fashiki' tekhnikum students tore off Komsomol badges from new first-year students. It would seem that this was the most fanatical display of political hatred, but it was categorized even as minor disorderly conduct.

"Desecration of a memorial is considered ordinary vandalism, also without any political assessment at all.

"The crime of 'Paul' and 'Borman,' which stunned the residents of Leningrad, was investigated by the court just as rape and torture, without affiliation of the accused with the 'fashiki.' And there are enough instances of such unfinished work. But we will not be hasty to accuse the courts.

"'Fascist' K., who threatened to explode the grenade, would have been shot by a Western policeman on the spot. He simply would have been obligated to do this as long as he was in the vehicle alone with the criminal. Otherwise, K. could have thrown the grenade outside the vehicle; then not only the policeman but also other citizens could have suffered. And our militiaman would have been right if he had acted in exactly the same way. But, risking his life, he grabbed K. by the arm."

Let us try to understand what was said by Capt M.Ya. Balukhta. He is not at all advocating what comes to mind. He is not advocating special rights, which they say our militiamen do not have enough of. He is not advocating drawing a gun and shooting every hooligan. He is advocating something else altogether.

Who are these "fashiki" (particularly those who are armed) with a political point of view? They are a variety of right-wing extremism committing clearly expressed aggressive and violent actions. If they were to create a grouping in any other country in Western Europe, they would immediately be "blacklisted" and outlawed. Even the neo-Nazis of the FRG are subjected to such persecution and, therefore, are forced to recruit supporters under different signboards.

Before the elections on 26 March, a spontaneous rally sprung up near Kazanskiy Cathedral. I do not know if it was sanctioned. That was not the problem. The problem was that everyone was freely stating his opinion, and no one was violating public order. But the "fashiki"... They were standing in a big group, their hands stuck deep into their pockets (black overcoats, black boots, black shirts), and judging from their facial expressions and shouts, they were just waiting for a commotion to break out.

Here is what Capt M.Ya. Balukhta is advocating. That no "right-wing" or "left-wing" extremists disrupt the democratic flow of perestroika. That the political struggle be waged using only political and not aggressive or violent means. That the country be guarded equally against both anarchy and authoritarian rule. That the state ship maintain its stability and not list. This is all Capt M.Ya. Balukhta is advocating. But aren't we advocating this, too?

I just am afraid that we will inexcusably constrict this problem if we take it upon ourselves to stigmatize some "fashiki" and not say that the negative traits inherent in them are, to one degree or another, characteristic of others of our people, both young and old. The one difference is that they strut around all in black and squeeze into SS things, while the others prefer not to attract special attention to themselves.

I met two such quite adult people near a subway station. After making sure that the dictaphone was not on, they stated that, in their conviction, Leningrad was Russophobic city, that such and such journals were "truly

national-patriotic" and such and such was "yellow journalism," that they would not tolerate in their city anything similar to the Moscow Staroy Arbat, that one of the suburban areas of Leningrad allegedly had been sold to American businessmen....

I must admit, I could not help asking who they represented: not the National Front by chance? They whirled their heads around as if they had fallen into a police raid and, without saying goodbye, blended into the crowd.

"Many 'fashiki' have retired to such adult uncles," they told me at the editorial office of the Leningrad SMENA.

And I believe them, not only because my colleagues receive such information from reliable sources, but also because the attempt by extremist currents to merge is quite natural, for separately they cannot create the force of a current. The desire of adult extremists to dominate any reservoir of young cadres is natural, even if this reservoir shows off a swastika. The inscription can be redone. The fact that the "fashiki" renamed themselves the "National Front," in my opinion, was also done not without prompting from the uncles, who avoid dressing in black. The uncles, on whose prompting the nationalistic manifestations in many of the republics are assuming an anti-Soviet nature. The uncles who have embarked on a path of extremism and fanatical nationalism.

Before departing, I again walked along the Fontanka, turned on Dzerzhinskiy Street, entered the courtyard of house No. 57, and then into a huge doorway where the flights of stairs spread into circles. A rotunda. Ancient times. It is a place of constant evening contact by the most varied juvenile groups. All the walls of the rotunda are covered with writing—belligerent appeals, slogans, and questions.

You can have the druggies! People! Let's kill ourselves! People! Just be honest: Why are you living?

But here is what I wanted to see one more time:

Greetings from the Nazis! Nationalism as the original idea! Long live genocide!

Swastikas and NF marks were scribbled here and there. Not all of them were crossed crosswise....

GSSR Publishes 1988 Crime Statistics

18000749 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
23 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by Aleksey Sinelnikov: "Crime in the Mirror of Statistics"]

[Text] Fulfilling the decisions of the 19th party conference on the development of glasnost, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs gave mass information media the opportunity to become familiar with crime statistics.

This information, which was a sealed secret for dozens of years, enables us to soberly evaluate the state of law enforcement work and to concentrate public attention on the "hot" areas of the fight against crime. Immediately after the publication of this statistics readers began to address questions to the editorial department. They were interested in finding out whether regional crime statistics will be published. How did matters stand in this respect in our republic?

We addressed these questions to Col Militia Albert Naskidashvili, chief of the Information Center of the Georgian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. The published statistics of crime in the republic contains information of interest to our readers.

Types of Crimes	Number of Crimes Committed in 1988	Rates of Increase in Relation to 1987 in Percent
Premeditated murder (including attempted)	227	-2.2
Premeditated serious bodily injury	232	+6.9
Rape (including attempted)	97	-19.9
Robbery of state and public property	26	+52.9
Stealing of state and public property	11	-15.4
Theft of state and public property	443	-2.6
Theft of personal property	2,038	+4.6
Swindling	29	+38.1
Misappropriation of state property	1,447	+1.1
Speculation	1,794	+2.6
Road-transport accidents with a fatal outcome	505	7.5
Road-transport accidents without a fatal outcome	1,096	-0.4

The total number of registered crimes in the republic last year was 16,532, which was 3.5 percent lower than in 1987. We would like to recall that an increase in crime is observed throughout the country. The crime level (per 100,000 people) in the republic is also lower than the all-Union level. Georgia is the only republic where the level of street crime has been lowered. However, this, of course, is not a cause for complacency. Last year 1,408 crimes, whose big share consisted of thefts from apartments and cars, remained unexposed. In all there are 13,027 unexposed crimes in organs of internal affairs. The damage from misappropriations of all types of property totaled 6,432,847 rubles annually, which was 48.5 percent lower than in 1987. The number of individuals who committed crimes declined by 1 percent annually. There are 13,669 such individuals, including 561 minors. The fact that the number of criminals, against whom criminal proceedings have already been instituted

previously, is growing along the line of criminal investigation is alarming. A total of 862 such people were registered last year, which was 5.3 percent more than the year before last. In our "Alarm Chronicle" we sometimes report cases of missing persons. In all there were 409 such cases last year. As a result of an investigation 246 people were found. In the republic comparatively mild (which does not at all mean ineffective) measures of punishment are applied to those who have developed a passion for drugs. Along with criminal proceedings, measures of administrative effect, that is, fines, warnings, and registration, are applied to drug addicts. Hundreds of drug addicts are registered in the republic.

Who are the people who committed crimes last year?

Today it is possible to give a collective social portrait of the criminals. Criminal proceedings were instituted against 10,547 out of the 13,669 individuals who committed crimes. They included 75 individuals aged 14 to 15, 486 individuals aged 16 to 17, 1,951 individuals aged 18 to 24, and 3,144 individuals aged 25 to 29. Most criminals were over the age of 30. There were 8,013 such individuals.

There were 2,625 women who committed crimes.

According to the social status the picture was as follows: Criminal proceedings were instituted against 7,395 workers, 738 kolkhoz members, 1,913 employees, and 558 students and pupils at educational institutions. Those against whom criminal proceedings were instituted included 2,809 people with higher and secondary specialized education. However, the bulk of the offenders had secondary education. There were 552 party members and 1,231 Komsomol members who committed crimes.

To be sure, readers can ask the following question: Have all statistics become "open"? No, not all. As before, information on the number of individuals serving their sentences in places of detention and some other information is "closed."

MSSR Criminal Code Amended

*18000984 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 13 Apr 89 pp 1, 3*

[Ukase of the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet on Changes and Additions to the Moldavian SSR Criminal Code and Code of Criminal Procedures, issued in Kishinev, 12 April 1989]

[Text] In accordance with the Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On Changes and Additions to the USSR Law 'On Criminal Liability for State Crimes' and Certain Other USSR Legislative Acts," the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To make in the Moldavian SSR Criminal Code, ratified by the 24 March 1961 Law of the Moldavian SSR (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA

MOLDAVSKOY SSR, No 10, 1961, p 41, and No 16, 1961, p 66; VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA I PRAVITELSTVA MOLDAVSKOY SSR, 1984, No 1, p 13), the following changes and additions:

1. To set forth Articles 67 and 71 in the following wording:

"Art 67. Appeals to overthrow or change the Soviet state and social system.

"Public appeals to overthrow the Soviet state and public system or to change it by means contrary to the USSR Constitution, or to impede the execution of Soviet laws in order to undermine the USSR's political and economic system, as well as the making of materials containing such appeals for the purposes of distribution or dissemination—

"are punished by deprivation of freedom for a term of up to three years or by a fine of up to 2,000 rubles.

"The same actions, committed as a repeated offense or organized by a group of persons, or committed with the use of equipment intended or adapted for mass circulation—

"are punished by deprivation of freedom for a period of up to seven years or by a fine of up to 5,000 rubles.

"Actions specified in the first or second parts of this article that are committed on assignment by foreign organizations or their representatives, or with the use of items of material value or equipment obtained from such organizations—

"are punished by deprivation of freedom for a period of three to 10 years."

"Article 71. Violation of national or racial equality.

"Deliberate actions aimed at arousing national or racial enmity or discord, or at degrading national honor and dignity, as well as the direct or indirect restriction of the rights of or establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on the basis of their racial or national affiliation—

"are punished by the deprivation of freedom for a term of up to three years or by a fine of up to 2,000 rubles.

"The same actions combined with violence, deception or threats, as well as the same actions committed by officials—

"are punished by deprivation of freedom for a term of up to five years or by a fine of up to 5,000 rubles.

"Actions specified in the first or second parts of this article that are committed by a group of persons or that result in the death of people or other grave consequences—

"are punished by deprivation of freedom for a term of up to 10 years."

2. To add to the Code Articles 67.1 and 71.1 of the following content:

"Article 67.1. Appeals to commit crimes against the state.

"Public appeals to betray the Homeland or to commit an act of terrorism or sabotage—

"are punished by deprivation of freedom for a term of up to three years or by a fine of up to 2,000 rubles."

"Article 71.1. Insulting or discrediting state agencies and public organizations.

"The public insulting or discrediting of the supreme bodies of state authority and administration of the USSR and Moldavian SSR, and of other state agencies formed or elected by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the Moldavian SSR Congress of People's Deputies, or by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet; or of officials appointed, elected or confirmed by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the Moldavian SSR Congress of People's Deputies, or by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet; as well as of public organizations and their all-union agencies created according to procedures established by law and operating in accordance with the USSR Constitution, and as of public organizations and their republic agencies created according to established procedures and operating in accordance with the Moldavian SSR Constitution—

"are punished by deprivation of freedom for a term of up to three years or by a fine of up to 2,000 rubles."

3. To add to the second part of Article 71.1, following the words "especially dangerous state crimes (Articles 61-70)," the words "the violation of national and racial equality with aggravating circumstances (part three of Article 71)."

II. In the third part of Article 78 of the Moldavian SSR Code of Criminal Procedures, ratified by the 24 March 1961 Law of the Moldavian SSR (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA MOLDAVSKOY SSR, No 10, 1961, p 42, and No 16, 1963, p 71), to replace the numbers "67-71" with the numbers "67- 71.1"; and in the third part of Article 107 of the Code, to replace the numbers "61-67" with the numbers "61-67.1," and after the number "71," to add the number "71.1."

III. This ukase takes effect as of the day of its publication.

A. Mikanu, chairman of the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

N. Kiriya, secretary of the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Kishinev, 12 April 1989.

Special Legal Aspects in Combating Juvenile Narcotic Users

18300527 Tashkent OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V UZBEKISTANE in Russian No 1, Jan 89 pp 18-24

[Article by M. M. Fayziyev and K. M. Mirzadzhanov: "The Struggle Against Drug Addiction Among Juveniles"]

[Text] The struggle against juvenile crime is one of the most important problems that confront the country's legal experts and law enforcement authorities. One aspect of that struggle is the battle against drug addiction among juveniles.

The country presently has registered 130,000 persons who use narcotics. Of that number 52,000 are recognized drug addicts and 22,000 are toxic drug abusers. Sixty-two percent of the registered drug addicts are persons under the age of 30¹. The latter group includes 14,000 juvenile drug addicts. Moreover, in a number of regions one out of every four registered drug addict is a teenager². One should note that an annual average of up to 40,000 crimes stem from drug addiction³.

For the purpose of controlling juvenile drug addiction several expert criminal investigation departments of the Internal Affairs Administration have prepared collections of drug addict handwriting samples and forged prescriptions for drugs containing narcotics as well as collections of narcotics. The use of such collections makes it possible to establish the identity of persons writing forged prescriptions, identify the writers of forged prescriptions by handwriting grouping, and consequently, in a number of instances, identify criminal cases in which such documents can provide material evidence. Such collections also make it possible to analyze the methods used for preparing forged prescriptions and to allow their use for the purpose of preventing similar crimes.

The criminological aspect of controlling juvenile drug addiction is particularly important at the present time inasmuch as the successful controls can result in a reduction of crimes associated with the use, illegal preparation, storage, transport, packaging, sale, and theft of narcotic substances.

The struggle against juvenile drug addiction requires the combined efforts of law enforcement authorities, medical personnel, educators, and the mass media. Those efforts should be carried out in a persistent, active, and aggressive manner.

At the same time it must be said that the struggle against drug addiction among juveniles to a certain degree constitutes an autonomous problem inasmuch as we are dealing here with a specific organization of legal, medical, pedagogical, and material-technical efforts in combating this problem. This entails the elaboration of a special program which should become an integral component of a general state program for the prevention of juvenile delinquency. Only in this way can we assure a unified methodological level and close interaction between the struggle against juvenile drug addiction and other areas of preventive action.

The correlation between the national and regional programs for combating drug addiction is quite important. This kind of comprehensive program for 1986—1987 was worked out in the Primorsk Kray. The essence of that program was the inclusion of local soviets into the battle against drug addiction that obligated subordinate agricultural authorities to destroy wild-growing hemp. The program also entailed the employment of every possible resource of the law enforcement authorities, the health sector, and the education sector to identify persons who use narcotics and to undertake prophylactic measures with them. It also entailed the identification of persons engaged in the preparation, storage, and sale of narcotics and the institution of criminal proceedings against them. It also included a broad educational effort to publicize the harm of drug addiction. A kray coordination council to combat drug addiction was organized for these purposes⁴.

Experience has shown that efforts at the general state level (within the program for the prevention of juvenile drug addiction) should be limited to the elaboration of a conceptual strategic plan for the control of juvenile drug addiction. On the other hand, the regional programs should pursue more particular tasks. This kind of differentiation is predicated by objective necessity inasmuch as the problem of juvenile drug addiction is not equally acute in all of the country's regions. The level of drug addiction is particularly high in the Turkmen SSR, the Karakalpak ASSR, Severo-Osetin ASSR, the Primorskiy Kray, and the Astrakhan, Nikolayevsk, and Dnepropetrovsk oblasts. Reflected here are various local peculiarities, national traditions, climatic conditions, the opportunities for the illegal production of narcotics, etc. All of these factors account for the differences in the tactics that should be employed in combating juvenile drug addiction.

The scope of the regional programs should not be limited by the framework of the union republics or oblasts. They must be inter-republic or inter-oblast programs. In particular, it is essential to develop a Central Asian program for combating juvenile drug addiction.

The design and implementation of such programs is a rather complex matter. It requires the consolidated, coordinated efforts of local party offices, soviets, law enforcement authorities, the Komsomol, national education personnel, vo-tech educators, the health sector, the agro-industrial sector, the mass media, and scientists.

Inasmuch as representatives of many organizations will be involved in such a program, there will be difficulties at both the developmental stage of the program and particularly in the course of its implementation. This undertaking should be headed by appropriate party committees who would be called upon to assure the coordination and interaction between departmental bodies at the intra-republic (kray, oblast) level, as well as coordination at the inter-republic level, and finally, overall supervision of the battle against drug addiction among juveniles.

Experience has shown that one of the principal deficiencies in the struggle against drug addiction has been the lack of a comprehensive approach to the problem and the lack of coordination between the law enforcement authorities and those of management and the community. Thus, despite the fact that in 1986 the law enforcement authorities in Tashkent undertook joint efforts with pedagogical and labor collectives to identify juveniles inclined to use narcotics, the number of juveniles who committed crimes under Paragraph 216-6 of the UzSSR Criminal Code (the use, storage, and sale of narcotics) increased over that year by 59.9 percent. Among those detained, 29 percent were school pupils, 26 percent were vo-tech students, 11 percent were students at VUZ's and tekhnikums, 28 percent were workers, and 5 percent were neither employed nor going to school. Twenty-three percent were Komsomol members.

A study of practical efforts has shown that there is a lack of the proper interaction between all of the interested parties in the struggle against juvenile drug addiction. Thus, in Uzbekistan physicians at pediatric departments and school medical personnel were actually excluded from those efforts. The medical education clubs, etc. are not exerting the required influence on the organization of anti-drug propaganda among the youth.

That is why a proper identification of the scope of institutions and organizations involved in the struggle against juvenile drug addiction is an important condition for assuring that the regional programs are effective. In particular, that group should include representatives of medical institutions and the State Agro-Industrial Committee. The latter are insufficiently controlling the illegal cultivation of narcotics-containing crops on kolkhoz and sovkhoz lands and are not engaged in the control over such crop plantings. Positive results are being achieved wherever such controls are in force. Thus, in the KK ASSR the area of illegal opium poppy plantings was reduced by almost 40 times in comparison to 1984. A plan for joint efforts for the prevention of narcotic-containing crop cultivation has been developed and implemented in the Tashkent Oblast, and household

watches of private plots have been organized as well as agricultural aviation service over flights to identify plantings of narcotic-containing crops that are subject to destruction.

Each participant in the implementation of these regional programs must concisely know his own functions and actively carry them out.

The representatives of juvenile affairs commissions have an important role to play in this overall operation. They must identify the entire set of specific circumstances, causes, and conditions that are conducive to crime that are committed in the juveniles' homes, schools, and work places. In that connection, it is essential to identify the persons who are to blame for the fact that these conditions were allowed to develop and not eliminated in a timely fashion. It is particularly important to identify which harmful influences in the family and the immediate everyday environment, etc. are those that have contributed to juveniles' inclination to commit crimes. As a general rule, there is not one single, but rather several factors (sources of information) that should be included in juvenile affairs records.

The initial implementation of preventive measures also has its own specificity in this category of cases. As a rule, such measures are of an emergency nature and should be undertaken even in the preliminary investigation stage as soon as an appropriate fact is revealed (a youngster's withdrawal from school, work, flight from home, use of alcohol and narcotics, negative influence of a micromedium, etc.).

According to estimates of Soviet criminologists, up to 70—80 percent of the juvenile crimes in this category could be prevented even now if the special preventive measures were precisely in force.

What has been said so far, of course, does not exhaust the problems involved in the strategy and tactics required for the control of juvenile drug addiction. In our view that struggle must provide for a scientifically substantiated combination of preventive, administrative, and criminal code measures.

A principal factor among the legal and criminal code measures to be undertaken is the identity of persons who manufacture narcotics, since their manufacture constitutes the processing of the raw material or semi-finished product, chemical compounds, solution, and mechanical mixtures, as well as the identification of persons engaged in the storage, transport, forwarding, and sale of narcotics.

Also important is a proper solution of the question dealing with the responsibility of parents, and sometimes of teachers, who know about juvenile drug addiction but do not report it. The current legislation calling for the imposition of fines against parents for their children's

use of narcotics has not been effective. Parents must be made fully accountable for juveniles who use narcotics. Effective legal incentives are required to request treatment voluntarily, including anonymous treatment. All juveniles who are observed to use narcotics, must be taken into strict account. Incidentally, there are some positive examples in which computers have been used to register drug addiction (Georgian SSR).

In our opinion, special commissions much like the commissions for the control of drunkenness, should be formed within the local soviets in those regions which have the most frequent cases of drug addiction among juveniles.

And now a few words about the collective effort of scientists and law enforcement organizations in the struggle against drug addiction among juveniles.

Scientists in the Department of Criminal Law and Criminology of the Institute of Law and Philosophy of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences in concert with associates at the Tashkent Higher School of the USSR MVD have worked out a detailed Program for the Study of Narcotics-Associated Crime which was approved at an expanded session of the academic council of the Institute in June 1988. The Program outlines areas of research, methods of design, and expected results for the period 1988—1990.

A number of studies were carried out and are being carried out in accordance with a plan of the law department of Tashkent State University and USSR MVD Tashkent Higher School, particularly with respect to the effectiveness of law enforcement authorities of the Tadzhik SSR and the Turkmen SSR in the battle against drug addiction. The results of those studies were implemented to the extent that those authorities were prepared, both at the various stages, and with respect to the regions.

The Fan izdatelstvo of the UzSSR as early as 1982 published an original study of M. G. Ikramova which summarized a wealth of material from the court practice of Uzbekistan, and in a number of cases from court cases of the RSFSR, Turkmenia, Tadzhikistan, and Azerbaijan⁵. Law enforcement authorities, narcologists, and scientists found answers in that study to many unclarified and controversial theoretical and practical questions.

The work reveals the basic types of drug addiction, characteristic errors made in the investigation and legal prosecution of criminal cases in this category. The study offers proper definitions and valuable practical recommendations, and clearly demonstrates the role of drug addiction as a criminogenic factor. The study systematizes the causes and conditions conducive to the spread of drug addiction and traces the history of our country's struggle against it.

Materials summarizing the study of these kinds of criminal cases in 1983 for Tashkent Oblast were discussed at a board meeting of the Tashkent Oblast Procurator's office and used at a seminar for investigators of the investigation section of the Tashkent gorispolkom Administration of Internal Affairs.

A survey based on scientific research materials was prepared in 1984 on the application of criminal legal standards regarding accountability for narcotics-associated crimes, along with other materials required for an examination of this subject at a plenum of the UzSSR Supreme Court. In 1985 a special monograph was prepared which was based on scientific research results obtained at the UzSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Law.

In 1986 the USSR MVD Tashkent Higher School prepared a analytical reference manual on the status of the struggle against drug addiction in the UzSSR over the period 1981—1985. The manual was sent to the region's MVD Administration of Internal Affairs for use in everyday operations. In addition, the departments of criminal law and process and criminal law at the USSR MVD Tashkent Higher School are studying the court examinations of criminal cases on narcotics-associated crimes in order to identify typical shortcomings in investigative operations. The Department of Criminal Law has prepared a Dictionary of Drug Addict Slang Terms and Expressions which was sent to all MVD Administrations of Internal Affairs in the Central Asian region.

The efforts undertaken to implement the above-mentioned Program of Research on Drug Addiction-Related Crimes are aimed at:—a compilation of the criminological characteristics of crimes associated with the use of narcotics and other psychotropic substances that were committed in the UzSSR in the period 1982—1987;—obtaining the criminological characteristics of persons who have committed such crimes during the indicated period;—identification and study of the causes and conditions conducive to the spread of drug addiction among individual strata of the region's population;—analysis of the effectiveness of total social (regional and individual) measures taken for the prevention of drug addiction in the republic;—elaboration of scientifically substantiated recommendations for law enforcement authorities as well as representations to various authority levels (public organizations, labor collectives, teaching institutions, etc.) for the identification and prevention of drug addiction in the population.

Associates at the UzSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Law and the Department of Criminal Law at the USSR MVD Tashkent Higher School have participated in the preparation of materials on the status of the struggle against drug addiction in the Dzhizak Oblast for review at a session of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

In October 1986 the departments of criminal law and process of the USSR MVD Tashkent Higher School prepared methodological letters based on the discussions at a coordination conference of Uzbek law enforcement authorities on the status of the struggle against drug addiction in the Tashkent Oblast that were sent to all the interior affairs offices, the procuracy, and the courts.

The results of the studies on drug addiction control that were undertaken in September 1984 in the Turkmen SSR were reviewed at the collegium of the Turkmen SSR MVD which included the participation of members from the academic council of the USSR MVD Tashkent Higher School. The adopted joint decree and corresponding order issued by the ministry outlined recommendations and measures for increasing the effectiveness of the battle against this type of crime. A draft of Instructions for Special Voluntary People's Patrols for the Control of Drug Addiction was prepared by the Department of Administrative Law of the USSR MVD Tashkent Higher School in the execution of the aforementioned decree, and the draft was sent to the Turkmen SSR MVD in January 1985.

Also issued on the basis of research materials were texts from the lecture series "Tactics in the Selection of Persons Employed to Control the Proliferation of Narcotics," the teaching aids "Criminal Responsibility for the Planting and Cultivation of Narcotics-Containing Crops," "Responsibility for Enticing Juveniles to Drunkenness and the Use of Narcotics," "Methods for the Investigation of Narcotics-Related Crimes," and a photographic album on drug addiction for training and practical operations of the Internal Affairs Department.

The USSR MVD Tashkent Higher School is currently carrying out research on the topic "Improving the Operations of Internal Affairs Authorities in Controlling Drug Addiction (based on materials for the Central Asian region)." The results of that study will be the basis of an All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference and the preparation of recommendations for operative internal affairs authorities.

Within the framework of that study, in February 1988 the Tadzhik SSR MVD organized a permanently functioning seminar with employees of the service for combating the embezzlement of socialist property and speculation, the Administration of Criminal Investigation [UUR], and investigation service on the topic "Organization of Operations by Tadzhik SSR Internal Affairs Authorities to Control the Spread of Drug Addiction and Toxic Drug Abuse." The seminar approved recommendations prepared by the Tadzhik SSR MVD and the USSR MVD Tashkent Higher School for operative authorities.

On the basis of a study undertaken by school instructors on the UzSSR courts' observance of the law which fixes responsibility for the illegal activities with narcotics, in June 1987 the plenum of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet and

the collegium of the UzSSR Ministry of Justice adopted the decree "On the Results of Study on the Republic's Courts' Application of the Law which Fixes Responsibility for Illegal Activities Connected with Narcotic Substances."

The USSR MVD Tashkent Higher School, in concert with participants of the administrative-instructor administration and the UzSSR MVD Administration of Criminal Investigation [UUR] prepared a report on the struggle against drug addiction for review at a joint session of the UzSSR MVD collegium and the academic council of the USSR MVD Tashkent Higher School that took place on March 26, 1988, and at which a set of appropriate measures for internal affairs authorities was approved.

Within the framework of the industrial scientific program of the USSR MVD the Tashkent School is also carrying out a study on the topic "Improving Operations on the Identification and Organization of Preventive Efforts with Juveniles Using Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances, and on the Dispatch of Juvenile Drug Addicts to On-the-Job-Dispensaries [LTP]." These materials will be used to prepare jointly with other VUZ's of the USSR MVD, proposals to operative authorities, methodological recommendations, and teaching and practical visual aids. In consideration of the growing demands of the training and operative processes, the guide "Prevention of Drug Addiction by Internal Affairs Authorities" was issued in 1988.

Further intensified study of this complex multi-faceted problem by specialists from various fields will doubtless facilitate a successful struggle against these kinds of crimes, especially among juveniles.

Footnotes

1. See ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, 1988, No 26.
2. Likhachev, G., "Narkomaniya: problemy i poiski resheniya" [Drug Addiction: Problems and the Search for a Solution], SOTS. ZAKONNOST, 1987, No 4, p 22.
3. See IZVESTIYA, 1987, May 12.
4. See Likhachev, G., op. cit., p 21.
5. Ikramova, M. G., "Ugolovno-pravovaya borba s narkomaniy" [Criminal Legal Struggle Against Drug Addiction], Tashkent, 1982.

Attitude Toward VOA, Americans Changing Visibly

*18001018a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 9 Apr 89 p 4*

[Article by APN Political Commentator V. Simonov: "A Surprising Portrait of an Old Acquaintance"]

[Text] "This is the Voice of America in Washington. In Moscow it is 7:00 AM; in Washington it is midnight. You may hear our broadcast in the Russian language on the following frequencies..."

Not so long ago, following these words my short-wave receiver would start to howl like a fire siren. They've turned on the "jammers," those protectors of the ideological innocence of the Soviet populace. Today I can hear the Voice of America better than my own wife, who is frying me some eggs in the kitchen. What's more, the radio station is opening its own correspondents' office in Moscow.

This is only one of the achievements which became possible as a result of the second Soviet-American meeting dedicated to information exchange. It took place in Moscow late last September. "We are not magicians, but practical people," said M. Falin, APN [NOVOSTI Press Agency] board chairman and head of the Soviet delegation. "We understand full well that we shall have to build up our trust one brick at a time."

The "bricks" are multiplying. Soviet and American newspapers, television, and publishing houses are exchanging articles, programs and books. Journalists are going to gain staff experience in the information organizations of the other side. In like manner, NEWSWEEK, TIME, and the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE will be sold in the USSR for rubles. And the so-called "unofficial working mechanism on information questions" will permit Falin himself to pick up the telephone and, if necessary, express his thoughts to American circles on the latest commentary by The Voice of America. On the other hand, a TASS article, let's say, might become the subject of a detailed response by USIA Director Charles Wick.

What does this mean? Evidently, that glasnost and perestroika in the USSR, and the new quality of Soviet-American relations connected with it, have taken a step from dueling in propaganda stereotypes to more accurate knowledge of information on one another. As a result, for Americans, the USSR is ceasing to be a country of only bureaucrats and dissidents. To the very same degree, America is losing its standard image among the Soviet people, as the habitat of only militarists, racists and the unemployed. As distinguished from the cartoon graphics of the "cold war," the multicolored information palette of the end of the 1980's permits the Soviet Union and the United States to create a new portrait of one another. A surprising portrait of an old acquaintance.

At one time a Soviet Americanist was valued for his talent for exposing things; there are also things to criticize today—the USA has not become an ideal state; and they themselves know this better than any outsider. But the focus of our interest is currently on other features of the land across the sea. Mikhail Roshchin the dramatist expressed the prevailing attitude in the newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI: "It seems to me that journalists are making a mistake when they endlessly portray the poverty-stricken Negro sitting on a metro grating. America is a country of the well-off and the rich, and that is what one must know in order to make proper judgments about it."

Roshchin could be reproached for plunging from one-sided anathema to one-sided hallelujahs. If it were not for one circumstance: behind his outcry lies the ardent desire of Soviet people, caught up in a whirlwind of truly revolutionary reforms, to comprehend and imitate that American experience through which their own Motherland might approach well-being and riches.

Its economic backwardness can no longer be hidden by curses on the USA from the lofty heights of social and spiritual idealism. And the very theory of moral superiority of the Brezhnev form of socialism is subjected to doubt here: corruption, organized crime, a heartless mercenary spirit in human relations, the rape of the environment—all of this is contrasted with that for which America is excoriated. Hence the inexorable growth of interest in the United States, as the country of a high quality of life, envious technological progress, and agricultural abundance. And how? By what means? Why? Today, Soviet international journalism is unable to reply to these questions, and has finally ceased to struggle in a paroxysm of hatred.

The reform of the political system in the USSR is also leading to acute interest in the general democratic experience of the American people. There is growing understanding that bourgeois democracy is not only German shepherds turned loose on Negro demonstrators. The division and balance of power in the triangle—President, Congress and Supreme Court, and control by society over carrying out the laws—this is the practical experience of American democracy that could stand in good stead with the perfection of the Soviet political system as well. Soviet sociologists could find a great deal useful, I think, from studying the American form of individualism—not as a devilish mark of private enterprise, but as a philosophy of individual self-expression, of one's god-given creative resources.

In some ways the portrait of America could become an important teaching aid. And it is.

In turn, the chief novelty of the USSR which emerges from between the lines and the television closeups of the American mass information media, similarly, consist namely of an acknowledgment of the capability of Soviet society to develop within the bounds of the system

chosen by the people. That which to the West appeared to be rusted fast to the rails, has suddenly moved on and is gaining speed. Slowly, but visibly the gap between developing socialism and the socialist dream is growing smaller. "In the last three years, the Soviet Union has taken a trip measured in light-years," exclaimed one of the American participants in that same meeting in Moscow, dedicated to information exchange.

The USSR and the USA will remain states with conflicting interests, poles apart in ideologies and different systems of ideals. But this incompatibility does not condemn our powers to exchanging pleasantries, such as "Better dead than Red," [sic] or "We will bury you." The former enemies are beginning to feel like partners, united by something greater than the imperative of survival.

The topic, by the way, is a good one—both for the Voice of America, and for the "Voice of Moscow."

Latvian Emigre Leader B. Kalnynsh Described
18001018b Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIA in Russian
26 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by Yanis Dzintars: "The Most Dangerous Balt"]

[Text] Recently certain of the mass information media in the republic have increasingly tried to draw public attention to the personality of a prominent figure in the Latvian emigre community, Bruno Kalnynsh. In connection with this, the editor has been receiving letters requesting a description of just who this Bruno Kalnynsh is; why one should pay such close attention to his political analyses; and finally, in what connection did he give the statement about his own rehabilitation (ATMODA No 11)?

As it was brought out in a recent broadcast of Radio Sweden, its radio listeners are displaying a similarly keen interest in Kalnynsh's fate; hence an interview with an elderly leader of the Latvian Social Democrats who lives in a suburb of Stockholm was sent out over the airwaves. We were on the verge of making use of this interview in order to provide first-hand information, as they say, to our readers. However, we heard little that was new. It is no secret that guests from Latvia have visited Kalnynsh often, that he also wants to visit Riga, and that he believes that he will soon be able to do this—immediately after the Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party, and he himself, are officially rehabilitated. Kalnynsh is of the opinion that he does not have long to wait, since in essence the rehabilitation has already taken place. And in general, as his guests from Riga have explained to him, the Social Democrats in Latvia itself could be legalized in an hour's time, since all the conditions for this already exist. Incidentally, the program of the NFL [Latvian Popular Front] is surprisingly similar to that which several decades ago was adopted by the emigre Social Democrats.

Just who is this Bruno Kalnynsh, that representatives of the NFL are soon to set out for Sweden for his 90th birthday celebration—whom, it is entirely possible, we shall be meeting on the soil of the Latvian SSR as early as this summer?

Since the experienced politician, true to his principles, had little to say about himself in the interview with the Swedish radio journalist, the editors have asked Candidate of Historical Sciences Yanis Dzintars, laureate of the republic State Prize and a senior fellow at the History Institute of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, to describe Kalnynsh's journey through life. We invite the readers' attention to the scholar's article:

Bruno Kalnynsh is a prominent figure in the Latvian emigre community. Indisputably an extraordinary person, in his long life he has been not only a witness but also an active participant in many prominent events. It is well-known that he took part in the act of proclamation of the Latvian bourgeois republic on 18 November 1918. In 1919 he was an officer in the national army, and then—a deputy of a faction of Social Democrats in the Latvian Sejm. He is also known as a leader of the social-democratic youth, united in the organization "Stradnieks, Sports un Sargs," part of which was used, under his leadership, for provocations against the Communist Party.

After the pro-fascist coup carried out by K. Ulmanis on 15 May 1934, Kalnynsh was arrested and subjected to criminal prosecution for possession of a firearm. Two-and-a-half years later he was given the opportunity to leave Latvia. While living abroad, he spoke out for the closest possible military-political ties between Latvia and the USSR, and worked at the mission of the Spanish Republic.

Kalnynsh's political reorientation could be explained by a reorientation of values; however, it is more likely that he was carrying out a mission for Soviet intelligence, which had established contact with him on 15 November 1938. Agent "Baltiyets" was paid 100 dollars a month. More detailed information on this can be found in the documentary essay, "Bankrot," by P. Dzilna and K. Klavs, which was published in Riga in 1986.

It is entirely possible that the cooperation with Soviet intelligence played the determining role in Kalnynsh being named leader of the People's Army after his return to Latvia in 1940. It was then that he was given the rank of general. But when he submitted an application for membership in the Communist Party, experienced underground workers would not support him, believing his political activities too controversial.

The intuition of the communists who did not trust Kalnynsh was borne out many years later. In 1958, Karlis Biyezays, a former agent provocateur of the

Latvian bourgeois political administration, was convicted after admitting that he had in his time betrayed over 80 members of the Communist underground. In court the provocateur explained that he knew only their underground nicknames. After the arrest of the communists pointed out by Biyezays, the leader of the secret-service [agentura] department of the political administration gave him the home address of Kalnynsh, in order to deliver them to the Okhranka [Secret Police]. In the presence of the chief of the political administration and Biyezays, Kalnynsh would inspect the communists in the cells and would give his conclusion: "This one is Yanis Shilfs, central committee secretary; this one is Augusts Bertse, a central committee member..." and so on.

We shall now turn to the memoirs of Latvian CP veteran Ansis Kadikis, fragments of which were published in the newspaper DZIMTENES BALSS (17 01 74). Kadikis writes that in 1923 he became acquainted with Revalds, a responsible official at the trade union buro who believed that Kalnynsh was associated with the political administration. In 1921 a note was received from the Riga central prison in which Ya. Shilfs-Yaunzems and A. Arays-Bertse reported to the comrades, that after their arrest Kalnynsh arrived at the political administration and revealed their true names and the positions they occupied in the party. Revalds warned about the necessity to be careful in conversation with Kalnynsh.

By sentence of the military field court, Ya. Shilfs-Yaunzems, A. Arays-Bertse and seven other underground communists were shot on the night of 10/11 June 1921.

The Great Patriotic War interrupted the career of the "red general." To this day it has remained a riddle to historians, why after the occupation of Latvia the Nazis and local pro-fascist nationalists spared Kalnynsh. He not only was not executed along with the party and Soviet aktiv and with many social democrats—after a rather brief incarceration, he turned up at large. Kalnynsh himself is very reticent in commenting on this fact in his biography.

He addresses his gratitude for his December 1941 liberation to A. Plensner, former military attache of bourgeois Latvia in Berlin; V. Weys, the Abwehr resident and one of the chief organizers of the Fifth Column and the police battalions; and R. Osis, who was to become commander of the Latvian regiment of an SS legion; and others, describing him in a positive manner in Riga prefecture. As a result of which, as Kalnynsh writes in his book, "Fifty Years of Latvian Social Democracy," Ye. Stepans, a prefecture employee, made the decision on his release.

This legend appears naive. It is hardly within the competence of an ordinary Latvian employee to decide the fate of such a man as the "red general." For comparison: General Roberts Dambitis occupied positions of leadership in the army of bourgeois Latvia for 20 years and in

1940 was occupying the position of war minister; from July 1941 until the capitulation of Germany, his fate was that of a prisoner, with no indulgences, at Riga central prison and at the gestapo prison in Berlin, as well as at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

The true purpose of the legend of the fortuitous liberation of Kalnynsh was to preclude disclosure of his true guardians—cadre employees of the Abwehr. This suggestion was first voiced in the book, "Nezrimyy Front" [The Invisible Front], published in 1970, and subsequently found convincing documentary confirmation. Thus, a record was found at the GDR Central State Archive of a conversation held on 2 December 1941 between Oberbanfuhrer Petersen of the General Commissariat of occupied Latvia, with Werner Kapp, chief of the commissariat's 2nd Department.

During this conversation Dr. Kapp stated that he would do everything necessary to free the former leader of the working youth of Latvia from prison (an extremely modest title for the political leader of the republic's People's Army—Ya.D.). Kapp stressed that he considered it very important to then designate Kalnynsh for work on the consulting staff of the general commissariat, where he would be safe. Evidently Dr. Kapp was worried, that the "red general" would once again be arrested by Latvian fascists on their own initiative. A very touching concern, on the part of one of the most experienced officials of Nazi military intelligence in the Baltic Littoral!

Shortly after this conversation, V. Stigliz, who was appointed prefect of Riga by the Nazis, issued an order to halt the investigation of the case of B. Kalnynsh. Incidentally, in bourgeois Latvia Riga police chief Stigliz was chief of the agent department of the political administration.

After publication in the newspaper DZIMTENES BALSS (26 07 78) of material on the discovery in Potsdam archives of evidence on Kalnynsh's ties with the Abwehr, TASS sent an official statement on 29 September that same year to the foreign mass information media. On the basis of that statement, TT, the Swedish telegraph agency, turned to Kalnynsh for an explanation; but the latter did not give a specific answer, and tried to pass himself off as an "innocent victim of communist propaganda." He said he did not know just who issued the order for his release from arrest in December 1941—a Captain Map or Pap. That response was printed in the emigre newspaper LAYKS (14 10 78).

The circumstances surrounding the second arrest of Kalnynsh on 11 July 1944 are still not completely explained. In order to more fully understand this story, one must remember the fact that in 1943 Imperial Security Main Administration Chief Kaltenbrunner issued an order, which required the leaders of the security police, the SD, and the chiefs of police in Riga, Mogilev, Kiev, Oslo, the Hague, Paris, Belgrade, Prague,

Krakow and Poznan, to conduct with the help of secret agents a campaign of nationalist propaganda for the purposes of weakening the unity of the communist resistance. According to this scheme, experienced agents and even groups of agents were to set up "illegal organizations of national resistance." In this manner, the fascists were counting on breaking up the liberation movement, which was expanding in connection with the worsening situation at the front, in order to then deal with the anti-fascists one by one. On 12 August 1943, Kalnynsh; A. Klive, former leader of the Peasant Union Party; K. Chakste, son of the first president of bourgeois Latvia; and Rantsans, a Catholic priest, established the so-called Central Council of Latvia. In his book, "Fifty Years of Latvian Social Democracy," Kalnynsh writes that the founders of the council had prepared a declaration, in which it is stated that, "...Any cooperation with the German occupation powers deserves condemnation, and also precludes assistance by Soviet partisans." Thus, the Nazis were attempting to break up and put a stop to the popular struggle with the occupiers, led by the Communist Party.

It is possible that the Central Council of Latvia might have continued to exist beyond the Spring of 1944, but by that time the Abwehr had been placed under the SD, following the arrest of the "black admiral," Canaris, and found out that contacts with British Intelligence had been set up behind its back. Not wishing to lose control over the situation, R. Lange, chief of the security police and the SD in Latvia, issued an order for the arrest of the most dangerous members of the Council.

A summary statement was preserved in the republic State Historical Archive, prepared by the political police, from which it is clear that after the arrest of Chakste's group (in April 1944, Ya.D.), no national resistance activity was observed. In June 1944 it was brought out that L. Seya, formerly foreign minister, consul general of bourgeois Latvia to England, and ambassador to the US, took part in three sessions of the Council. As soon as this information was received, Seya was arrested forthwith. The summary further indicates that the members of Chakste's group were in a quandary as to why their "red" collaborator had been at liberty to this time—the one about whom they had given testimony as one of the founders and leaders of the Central Council of Latvia.

Lange had to know that holding Kalnynsh under arrest further would not only place an experienced agent under threat of exposure, but all their measures as a whole as well. Kalnynsh was arrested, but even in confinement he was of use to the Nazis.

On the very first day of his stay at Stuthof concentration camp, to which he had been transferred from Salaspils on 14 September 1944, in the presence of prisoners Lilia Ligere and Wilma Plesums Kalnynsh offered the guard officers his assistance in maintaining order and obedience among his fellow-countrymen.

On the basis of materials preserved in the archive of the Stuthof concentration camp museum it is obvious that Kalnynsh, K. Chakste, B. Eynbergs, L. Seya and eight more of their "comrades in the struggle for liberation," had the status of "honored prisoners." This alone gave them privileges, but in addition, they were permitted to buy food in the store intended for the guards, and subscribed to the Nazi newspaper, VOLKISCHER BEOBACHTER.

When evacuation of the concentration camp began on 25 January 1945, the "honored prisoners" also set out on their journey along with the starving prisoners, crippled by hard labor. It was not an easy trip—Chakste and the others had to carry their own sacks with their things and food. And although a special detachment of the Latvian SS guarding them on the trip rendered them the necessary assistance, Chakste fell ill and died. Only Kalnynsh, for whom the gestapo cared this time also, managed to avoid difficulties. He remained in the camp until April, and then was shipped to Denmark on a barge along with other prisoners, the majority of whom were from Scandinavia.

Kalnynsh soon turned up in Sweden. Our press has written often about the subversive activity he carried on there against Soviet Latvia. We will only mention the fact that, thanks to the emissaries of the LSDRP [Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party] Foreign Committee which he led, which were associated with Western special services, certain of our fellow citizens found themselves on trial for espionage against the USSR. As far as his acts of ideological diversion against Soviet Latvia are concerned, they would be hard, I think, to count.

Analyzing Kalnynsh's activities, the Swedish newspaper DAGENS NYUKHETER wrote on 29 March 1984, that he is the "most dangerous Balt—an enemy of Soviet rule beyond the borders of the USSR. B. Kalnynsh is among those who are the enemies, who are conspiring against the Latvia of today."

Should we believe that the analysis of the Swedish newspaper has today lost its significance? Yanis Peters, who has visited Kalnynsh in Stockholm writes in LITERATURA UN MAKSLA (30 December 1988): "Bruno Kalnynsh can tell us a great deal. In the name of democracy and historical truth, we must not permit a single word of the events of years past to be lost."

Well said. But Kalnynsh himself is silent for the time being, and has not given an analysis of his previous activity.

'Paris Diary' Describes Life, Gifts of Russian Emigres in Paris

Gifts of Emigres 'Hidden'

18000624 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Mar 89 p 6

[Article by special correspondent Ed. Polyanovskiy: "On the Other Side"]

[Text] I knew the town of Staraya Russa before the advent of asphalt pavements. In the morning cows would be driven out to graze, women would shout from the

street, "Milk! Who needs milk?" Vendors would knock on the door: "Would you like fresh fish?" And the honey was among the best in Central Russia. Church and Soviet government coexisted inoffensively. The ringing of church bells drifted out to the surrounding meadows, while in winter the church ice sculptor would carve a huge ice cross in an ice niche; painted a bright red, it seemed foreboding and beckoning in its nook.

One dark evening the needle on the dial of the old Rekord wireless stumbled and stopped on a foreign waveband: "This is Radio Liberty. Yesterday the great Russian writer Ivan Bunin died in Paris."

I was struck not so much by the lie as by the crude shamelessness. As though we didn't know our greats—Pushkin, Tolstoy; or our famous—Babayevskiy, Azhayev. That brief spoken line was a symbol of the lies of all those on the other side.

Fifteen years ago I visited Paris as a tourist. The TASS correspondent and his wife took me to one of the most melancholy spots on earth: the Russian Cemetery.

Ivan Alekseyevich, buried in foreign ground, beneath alien clouds, doomed to eternal homelessness. For the first time in my life I wanted to cross myself.

How had we lived, how had we grown? Not into twigs and leaves—into bare branches. We discovered that we had Yesenin, Tsvetayeva, Mandelshtam. We had Khlebnikov and Gumilev. Just recently we learned that we had Zamyatin and Pilnyak. They were returned gradually, little-by-little, so as not to disturb the settled course of the placid river: several names per generation. Taking into account that they had all been published before, and adding to them the once-published and printed statesmen and party functionaries, military men, thinkers and scientists who had later fallen out of favor, it would seem that no other country on earth has published as much illegal literature as ours.

Just lately new names have been emerging from oblivion: Shmelev, Zaytsev, Aldanov, Zurov. Russian writers.

Does the river have a bottom?

After the revolution, when the world was rent assunder, the Russian heritage—literary, historical, philosophical, artistic, theatrical, musical—was also split. True, an appearance of unity was doggedly maintained and preserved. All those long decades we compatriots were assured that everything was intact and untouched, that the great and even not-so-great values were here, in our country. In fact, they were the only real values, which we had taken over together with the gains of the revolution, while all that had wound up on the other side were shards, dregs, because all those who had forsaken the Motherland were renegades. It was like a hypnotic delusion, the aftereffects of which can still be felt.

Yet in the emigre community, far from the Fatherland, culture lived, its breath uninterrupted. More than a thousand Russian periodicals were published abroad. Between 1918 and 1968, some 1,080 novels and over a thousand collections of poetry were written. Russia abroad set up churches, schools, universities, museums, libraries. It has preserved its aristocratic and other titles and ranks. Military fraternities display their colors. The military and the clergy observe all their anniversaries. There are balls, meetings and debates. There are literary associations and prizes dedicated to great compatriots. For many emigres Russia has remained both a topic and a source of inspiration.

A large section of the emigre community settled in France, 400,000 Russians having found haven there by the 1930s.

Alongside the creators lived the curators of values, not only newly created but those of old Russia as well. They preserved—for whom?—icons, paintings, diaries, letters, music scores—of no use or interest to the French, Germans, or whomever. But all they got from their compatriots, that is from us, was abuse. It even made no sense to bequeath cultural legacies to family archives, because most emigres were living out their lives alone, and those who did have children saw them grow up as French, Germans, or Americans.

Some time later we began to graciously make up with and forgive them—not with all, by far, only a select few. Talent was adopted as the measure of innocence. We picked for ourselves and brought back the most celebrated writers, singers, composers, artists. The yardstick was a Bunin, Shalyapin, Rakhmaninov, or Benua. For those people their last vestige of Russia was whatever had survived, whatever they still kept and could hold in their hands.

...France again, Paris again, this time on business.

Irina Leonidovna Sologub lives in the center of Montmartre. Sacre Coeur is beautiful. When the clock strikes you can hear the chimes inside the house. Outside the window there is a fine drizzle, and wet pigeons wander over tile roofs.

"When Mama left Russia at 19 she couldn't even comb her hair, a maid always did it for her. I was six weeks old when I was christened in Novorossiysk and we boarded the boat. Later Mama and my father divorced. Father had the title architect-artist. He volunteered for the war and was awarded a St. George cross. He drew a lot there, the popular weekly NIVA published some 90 war drawings, about 300 were shown at a one-man exhibition in the Academy of Art. I was in Paris, he was in Holland. He was offered to take Dutch citizenship many times, but he refused. Father lived so as not to be a burden to anyone, and he died that way. Neighbors noticed bottles of milk left by the milkman at the door. When they entered he had been dead for several days... He had

asked to be buried like a Christian, he was so afraid I would have him cremated. On the table lay a draft of his will. He asked that a collection of war drawings, 113 works, be given to Russia."

Initially 10 works were selected. On 12 October 1956, A. Zamoshkin, director of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Art, sent Irina Leonidovna a letter of thanks. In a magnanimous impulse Irina Sologub sent another 347 works in addition to the military collection. She received letters of appreciation from B. Zhuravlev, first secretary of the Soviet Embassy in the Netherlands, and A. Paramonov, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Culture's Central Administration for Fine Art.

A short while later she wrote to Paramonov to ask about the fate of the collection. No one answered.

The result: Over a period more than 30 years the drawings of Leonid Romanovich Sologub have never (sic) been exhibited! All except the first 10 were sent to an archive in the town of Zagorsk where, evidently in far from ideal conditions, they fell into decay.

"But the most remarkable thing was the land on Capri."

Over the years, Sologub had acquired, plot by plot, land on Capri. Today the holdings cover 10 hectares. She decided to bequeath the estate to our country. She was ready to set up some, say, international ecological or meteorological center (but with us as the owners of the land).

In the France Sector of the USSR Foreign Ministry I was shown the correspondence on this. The Soviet embassy in France sent a memo to the Foreign Ministry. The Foreign Ministry sent a memo to the Soviet Embassy in Rome. It received a meaningless reply and sent a second memo. The Ministry of Culture got involved. And so on, and so forth. The correspondence is endless and futile.

In the Foreign Ministry sector that deals with Italy I was told that Italian legislators would not allow us to acquire the land, that legally, according to their laws, we had hardly a chance.

"But suppose," I said, "it would have been Americans or French instead? Would they have gotten the land?"

"Of course!" my interlocutors responded in unison. "They'd see the deal through."

So the law does permit it, after all?

"Did you seek the help of prominent independent international lawyers, say, through Inyurkollegiya?"

"No."

Actually, the entire correspondence was internal, no one had ever ventured into the international arena, we were never turned down, there had never been a single "nay."

Irina Leonidovna Sologub draws her own conclusions:

"In Russia everything is always the best: best athletes, best army, and best bureaucrats, too. The last variant I was offered was to establish an international house of artists. Fine, I agree. But it still must belong to Russia."

We should also mention what Sologub wants in return: 1. Transfer her father's remains to his native land. 2. Go to the Soviet Union for two months to work on a dissertation on her father. 3. Set up something like a culture center in the house in Krasnodar where they used to live. One floor would be devoted to her father's belongings and drawings, the other two would house a library, meeting hall and rooms for exhibitions of local artists.

The Foreign Ministry sent an inquiry to the Ministry of Culture, whose chief of the Foreign Relations Department, V. Grenkov, responded that they had no interest in inviting Sologub for two months.

But of course, what use has the Ministry of Culture for a cultural center in Krasnodar set up by some emigre woman? If you don't do anything you can't be held responsible, but if you do something and then something goes wrong you'll be held accountable. We serve not our country, not our Motherland, only ourselves.

What about the finale of that correspondence, if only for the record? In the France Sector they told me: Sologub is dissembling with her Capri land. They went on to explain: We offered her to sell the land and give us the money, but... she refused. I wouldn't have believed it if I hadn't seen the words in the diplomatic correspondence myself: Insofar as the transfer of title to the land as a gift involves a very complex procedure, let I. Sologub sell the land and give us the proceeds. In view of her refusal one must question the sincerity of her intentions.

You are invited to dinner, but you say you won't come and would rather take it in cash.

At present Irina Leonidovna is buying special cardboard in Paris to restore her father's pictures, and she's looking for someone to take it. In my presence she was getting the cardboard sheets together to bring them to the railway station for a chance acquaintance to take them to Moscow.

It's not true that the hand of the giver is ever bountiful. It all depends on the taker.

By the end of life, in the face of eternity, loneliness reveals itself in all its truth and inexorability. Old age loneliness is as helpless as an orphaned child. It is a time when many would like to leave at least some memory of themselves, especially in their mother country.

Here, they offer, take this library or, say, collection of rare, expensive paintings as a gift. For free. Only mention that it comes from so-and-so's family collection. A single, small request.

But we, maintaining vigilance, avoided "demeaning connections." On the other hand, it was hard to resist the gift. As a consequence it wasn't "connections" that demeaned us but something else. We'll take your priceless collection, we would say, but anonymously.

Much is now changing, but it's still a long way to a frank and businesslike conversation, we are still only on the way to cooperation.

Nor is it only emigres. Take Finland, our friendly northern neighbor. Last winter there was a fire at the Academy of Sciences' library in Leningrad in which many valuable books perished. The Finns offered: We have copies of the burned unique books in our archives, take them.

We refused—so as not to reveal the extent of the losses. We were hiding them not so much from foreigners as from our own people.

For the West we are a difficult, unpredictable partner.

Dmitriy Sergeyevich Likhachev, faithful protector of our culture, said:

"Foreign gift-givers prefer personal contacts, not with organizations; organizations simply aren't ready."

The academician did not have in mind the difficulties just mentioned, nor even our eternal habit of procrastinating, especially when foreign countries are involved, what with all the echelons that must be reported to in order to justify, coordinate and get the go-ahead. What, then?

"We take things, then lock them away from one and all. Take the case of Militza Grin. She speaks Russian like you or I. She lived in Riga, then Paris, she was friendly with the Bunins, who bequeathed her their archive. After her husband's death she moved to Scotland, closer to her grand-children. What to do with the archive? The grand-children's Russian is limited to "hello," Bunin means nothing to them. She wanted to give it all to us, but she read in our newspapers—they follow our press—that the Lenin Library wouldn't let Chudakova, a leading expert on Bulgakov, see his archive. The Bulgakov case has been dragging on and on. As for Bunin, he made numerous anti-Soviet statements, the archive includes his correspondence, his attitudes at the time are well-known. The archive would be locked away for another 30 years. At that time an archive of Russian emigres was organized in Leeds in the United States. So she gave it to them. What could I tell her? That she should have given it to the Lenin Library? She said to me, 'It'll be easier for Soviet experts to come to Leeds than get into Moscow archives.' Our papers accused her of selling the archive.

No, she didn't sell it, she gave it away for nothing. She was so hurt by the Soviet press, she burst into tears and refused to have anything to do with Soviet people. She agreed to talk to me only because I was introduced by friends of hers."

How did their conversation—between an emigre woman we had insulted and a Russian intellectual—end? She gave Likhachev books with Bunin's marginal notes and a portrait of the writer by Dobuzhinskiy (which is well known from reproductions) for the Bunin museum in Orel. She also gave a large sterling silver plate with a silver salt-cellar which Russian writers had presented to him in Stockholm on the occasion of his Nobel Prize award.

Speaking of D. Likhachev's selfless efforts, one cannot fail to mention another such devotee, I. Zilbershteyn. How many valuable items he—not an office, not an organization but he personally—managed to return to the country from abroad! It was Zilbershteyn who spearheaded the establishment of a museum of personal collections, fought for it desperately, but did not live to see its opening.

"It all runs on enthusiasm," I said to Likhachev. "Can't the enthusiasm of individuals be pooled into a system?"

"If it's made into a system they'll refuse to contribute..."

Of course, we are gradually obtaining some experience of cooperation, there's no denying it. We're mastering the basics. True, the case we shall describe was not our initiative, we were being met halfway, without our moving forward, but at least we didn't get off the road along which we were being approached for such a long time. But still, it's gratifying. Every such experience is for the better.

En route through Paris there happened to be a certain Eduard Falts-Feyn, who lives in Liechtenstein but is known in contacts with Russians as Eduard Aleksandrovich. He is 76, though he looks no more than 60, is vigorous and sprightly ("I live right, don't drink or smoke, and I go to bed early"). His ancestors were Germans who had come to Russia 200 years ago. His father used to own an estate in Gavrillovka, not far from Kherson.

"He was a great agronomist. His mother—my grandmother—owned a shipping company on the Black Sea, and every week they sold grain to England. But now, listen here, we're buying grain in America. It's a crying shame, we have such fine land. We should sell, not buy. My mother took me out of Russia in 1917, when I was five years old. But in my heart I've always remained Russian! My uncle Fedya founded the Askaniya-Nova preserve. He brought animals and birds in from all over the world."

For 30 (sic) years Eduard Aleksandrovich had tried to get a memorial to his uncle installed at Askaniya-Nova. He was repeatedly turned down: A memorial to landowners, to capitalists! ("It was so humiliating: Abroad they wrote of Falts-Feyn as the founder of Askaniya-Nova, while in his own country—not a word, as though it had all come from the moon!")

Eduard Aleksandrovich is Russian in spirit, with German blood. His business acumen is remarkable.

"I began to buy paintings, documents and objects associated with Russia in antique shops and at various sales. My villa in Liechtenstein has been called 'Russian house.' When I go in I am transferred to Russia. I have made my country gifts of Ayzovskiy, Korovin and so forth. Incidentally, I'm the only Russian in Liechtenstein. Every year I arrange hikes across the Alps which follow the route of Suvorov. It's so interesting! In August the weather is fine, 2,600 meters above sea level! Up to 200 foreigners come with me. I called up Soviet diplomats in Geneva and Bern: You ought to be ashamed of yourselves, such a hike and not a single Russian! Doesn't anyone care? So 50 Russians came from Geneva and 50 from Bern. And there were 100 foreigners, half-and-half. Next year I've been promised 200 Russians, so there'll be more of them than Swiss. I put out a Suvorov stamp, the only Suvorov stamp abroad. I asked our Prince. He knows the name of Suvorov quite well. Three years ago I had a statue of Suvorov installed. I'm vice minister of tourism, so I didn't have to ask anyone's permission."

After 30 years of efforts Felts-Feyn was finally allowed to put up a memorial to his uncle in Askaniya-Nova.

"I paid for it all myself, but the Supreme Soviet gave permission, thereby rendering a service, not just to me personally, but to Russian culture, for which my uncle did a lot."

After that the grateful Falts-Fey bought some paintings in London for a large sum and gave them to us as a gift.

"Moscow representatives had come for some Repins, but they turned out to be twice as expensive. They were unable to purchase anything, so I presented them with a Makovskiy so that they wouldn't have to return home empty handed."

The day before our meeting Eduard Aleksandrovich had been at the Russian Cemetery. He was prompted by an anxious report about Bunin's grave carried by a Soviet newspaper: The payment deadline was expiring. Title to cemetery land can be acquired for 30 years, 50 years, or in perpetuity. At the request of the Soviet Cultural Fund Eduard Aleksandrovich went to find out before it was too late when Bunin's time in that ground was due to expire.

"I even took money to pay for it. I went through all the cemetery titles, all the papers and established that Bunin was there 'in perpetuity'."

Found out and went away?

"I began to inspect the tombstones and found that some were in a bad state. The grave of Sergey Makovskiy was in a terrible state, with the cross on the ground. Much has to be done there. I asked that worker how much it would cost, asked him for an advance estimate so that I could bargain with him. Then I went to the management and told them I would pay half now and half when the work was completed. They were surprised: a stranger from Liechtenstein. I told them I was Russian."

"Have you been able to visit your native parts?"

"Of course! In the summer of 87. By plane to Moscow, by plane to Kherson, by car to Gavrilovka. Ah, how they received me! In truly Russian fashion! To return after 70 years. People kissed me, cried, I cried a bit myself. I'm Russian, after all. There was an old woman who had been a nurse with my father. She's almost 90. She gathered some soil in a little bag she had sewn herself. 'Give it to your daughter,' she said. 'Let her sprinkle it on your grave when you die...'"

"Did you see your house?"

"Our mansion was destroyed, everything was destroyed... You know, there are people who remember my parents and even my grandmother. In 1917 my grandmother refused to leave Russia. We pleaded with her, but she remained. She was 85. They killed her."

"Who?"

"Let's not talk about it. I want to look ahead."

"If you hadn't been allowed to put up the memorial to Uncle Fedya, would it have ultimately influenced your mission?"

"Very much!"

Rene Gerra's Russian Collection

18000624 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
7 Mar 89 p 5

[Article by Ed. Polyanovskiy: "On the Other Side"]

[Text] I met Professor Rene in Paris. I had heard a lot about him, both good and bad. I heard even more in Paris, also both ways. He interested me as the possessor of a fantastic collection of first-emigration Russian literature, especially poetry. Pink-cheeked, with a goatee, he looked like a successful young merchant. He knows poetry from Pushkin to Akhmatova, speaks the language flawlessly, and he could teach many Russians how to speak Russian right. I present his story as told.

"I was born in 1946 and grew up in the south of France in Cannes. My father taught German, my mother was a math instructor and later became a director of women's courses. Once an elderly Russian woman with long braids came to my mother. 'My granddaughter needs math tutoring, but we have no money. I could give one of your sons lessons in Russian...' My mother didn't do any tutoring, because she was from a rich merchant family. But she didn't want to hurt the woman's feelings, so she agreed to give several lessons, dispatching me to the old woman in a show of reciprocity. There was an old man there, apparently a former officer. He liked to drink and lie on a bench. There were icon lamps. It was rather dirty. Strange people would come: church choristers, officers. Then there was Easter, with Easter cakes. It was exotic. The people fascinated me. They eked out a subsistence by making toys. The vision I got of Russia was of a Grad Kitezh, a mythical underwater world. The old woman had a teaching talent. I didn't know the words yet, but I eagerly declaimed Pushkin's 'A green oak stood on the crescent seashore.' She said to me, 'I'll make a Russian of you. The only condition is that you must never, ever do anything against my country: Although we're exiles here, it's still our country.'

"I abandoned all my affairs. My parents were in despair: What do you need Russian for? I was already studying German and English.

"One of the lecturers at the Lycee was Yekaterina Leonidovna Tauberg, a Russian poetess held in high esteem by Bunin, Zaytsev, Khodasevich. An anthology of Russian emigre poetry had just appeared with some poems of hers in it. She gave me a copy: 'For my favorite pupil...' It was my first acquisition.

"I decided to become a Slavist. I went to Paris and enrolled in the Eastern Languages School at the Sorbonne. I studied Russian 10-12 hours a day, it was my consuming passion. I could have stayed at a hotel until I got a dormitory, but I went to live with Russians. I lived at an old woman's house in Monmartre. It had the ambience of a Russian izba. I met with Prince Beybutov, a famous Paris plumber who played the balalaika and seven-string guitar. It was at the entrance to the Serafim Sarovskiy Russian Orthodox Church, where officers, actors, coachmen and others gathered, that I met my future wife.

In 1967 I travelled with a group of French students on an exchange visit to Moscow. In Brest I got out of the train, went to the railway station and heard the language I loved. There was a snack bar there, with cold patties [pirozhki] and rude barmaids. I spent two months in the Soviet Union, looked at everything through the eyes of emigrants, and I realized how close and dear it was all to me, but also how alien. I saw, pardon me, an unhealthy society. I say this because it was all very depressing.

"When I returned I began to collect books. I realized that emigre literature, and emigre culture in general, were blank spots in Russia.

"In the early seventies I began to organize literary evenings at home. Among those who came were Odoyevtseva, Varshavskiy, Count Shuvalov, also a writer, Sharshun, Annenkov, Terapiano, Adamovich... Twelve or fifteen people, writers and artists. They read and discussed things. They were the last embers.

"In 1975 I began, as a privat-docent, to give lectures on Russian emigre literature—Remizov, Bunin, Zaytsev, Shmelev, Teffi, Nabokov. It's not a seminar, it's a real course, with a written exam and an oral exam. On average some 15-20 students take it.

"In 1985 I became a professor at the institute."p2hey call him (even the newspapers) the "Russian Frenchman." With different hues: Respect, envy, irony, anger. By the time Rene Gerra had amassed his vast fortune of books and paintings, I think even sincere givers began to envy him.

"Envy is good," Gerra says. "It means I'm doing a good job."

Rumors are rife: Such a fortune had to be acquired by various means, some of them doubtlessly devious. I don't know, I never checked. All I know is that when it is all in one hands, moreover the hands of a professional and an enthusiast, it is somehow safer and more reliable.

During the time we were in touch he visited Berlin for two days. One day when I met him he was in a bad mood.

"Today there was a sale of Sergey Ivanov's paintings. I knew him well. It was a sorry sight. He had failed to settle his estate, to give away or sell everything into one hands, and now his three daughters have scattered it all in an auction. He died five years ago. He had made a gift of several paintings to the USSR, among them a portrait of Benua."

In this connection Rene recalled Sharshun, who had bequeathed to Russia several dozen paintings worth several million francs. "Not without my help, incidentally. But what then? Shershun has been gone for 15 years already, but his paintings have never been on view, and even his name was first mentioned only in 1984 and then once more, in passing, in 1988."

Every cultural artifact should, of course, live and breath. In this connection I asked Gerra whether his own treasures were not just so much deadweight gathering dust.

"Whenever exhibitions of little-known Russian artists are organized I help to compile bibliographies and catalogues. I send them to those in the USSR who are interested. I publish books by emigres at my own expense. Twenty years ago, incidentally, I had the idea of

publishing a 'Golden Book' of Russian emigre writers. The money was there, but no one cared to help me. My main occupation now is the establishment of a museum. It's not clear yet whether it will be under the aegis of the Ministry of Culture. My lawyer is currently negotiating with them. I plan to open it in the spring of 1989. I would also like to organize an exhibition of paintings of Russian artists from my own collection, and I already have two concrete proposals. Also, some good publishers in Nice have offered to publish a book, 'Russia in Russian Post-Cards.' I had begun collecting post-cards with pictures of pre-revolutionary Russian cities when I was still at school. I wanted to recreate for myself the atmosphere in which Russian writers and poets wrote. Then I realized something else: I must preserve for myself the Russia I am true to, but where churches and monasteries remain no more. I visited fairs in France, Switzerland, Germany. I collected fifty thousand cards! I have the very first Russian post-cards ever."

I listened to Gerra with a heavy heart. I knew that our publishing houses were ready to strike a deal with the "Russian Frenchman." He had been expected in Moscow the previous summer, but he didn't come.

It turned out he wasn't allowed to come to Moscow. His visa application had been denied.

Up till then he had visited the USSR five (sic) times: Twice as a student, two more times on business trips as a docent, once as leader of a delegation of French teachers. The three last trips were just recently, in the 1980s. It wasn't only opponents of any kind of Soviet-French relations who tried to persuade him not to collaborate with us; his parents and wife continue to oppose his passion for Russia and trips to the Soviet Union. Now they say to him, "Well, are you satisfied?"

But what was the French professor's offense? At his request the French Foreign Ministry sent an inquiry to our side. The responses were incoherent: First that he had submitted too late, then that he allegedly had refused to go himself.

Gerra has plenty of faults: He can be bristly and offensively ironic; on occasion I would sharply cut short opinions about our homegrown problems. But then, if you find someone offensive you needn't be friends. But what about business relations? They can and should be possible. He is certainly no friend of the Soviet system, but he is a friend of Russian literature. Today we need him more than he needs us, and tomorrow we should need him still more. But we may be too late. We have somehow grown used to thinking of ourselves as the State: If we choose we'll give permission, and if we do people will come to us; if we call they'll come running. But no, times have changed. We must remember that in relations between a state, even the greatest, and an individual, even the humblest, that individual may also have his self-esteem and opinion of himself.

"Was I hurt? No, I'm not a child. Offended? Yes, certainly."

And now for dessert: His treasures.

An art collection of several thousand items, including not only oils, but also water-colors and sketches.

But his main pride is literature, poetry.

He has more than 40,000 book titles, many unique, 10,000 volumes of Russian emigre literature. The largest, he claims, in the world.

Uncountable archive materials and letters. Unpublished letters of Bunin, Taneyev, Kuprin, Severyanin, Khodasevich, Baltrushaytis. More than a thousand letters from Balmont (part of the poet's pre-revolutionary archive). Letters from Kerenskiy, who was also once a participant in literary evenings.

Gerra has many paintings and, especially, books with gift autographs. From Zaytsev ("For my dear..."), "With best feelings..."), from Annenkov ("To my historiographer"), from Adamovich, Gul, Odoyevtseva, Veydle, Zak, Sharshun, Terapiano, Lifar. In 1934, Sergey Lifar published Pushkin's "A Trip to Arzum." It was a magnificent publication: 50 numbered copies, 20 on Japanese imperial paper, 30 on Dutch paper.

"I have the 15th copy, that is, on imperial paper: 'To Rene Yulianovich Gerra, with friendly feelings. Sergey Lifar'."

Obviously, it is impossible for a collector of such stature to restrict himself solely to the first emigration. Gerra owns first printings of Derzhavin, Pushkin, in particular "Eugene Onegin," and Ryleyev's "Reflections" shortly before the Decembrist revolt. He has contemporary editions of Krylov, Turgenev, Saltykov-Shchedrin, Dostoyevskiy, Dobrolyubov, Ostrovskiy. Many volumes bear their authors' autographs (Tolstoy, Sukhovo-Kobylin, and others).

Everything was amassed as it were incidentally, in his spare time. Unpublished letters of Lev Tolstoy, Turgenev and Gorky. Material about Nicholas II, in particular his life in Tobolsk. Letters from Wrangel.

Behind each line is someone's breath, behind each creation, someone's fate.

One topic that cannot be avoided in our discussion is the state of museums, libraries, estates, cemeteries. Water is flooding the repositories of the State Public Scientific-Technical Library. In winter the temperature is minus 40 degrees with high humidity. Books are infected with fungi and mildew. In one repository the plumbing burst and sewage poured in. Tens of thousands of books were written.

Two years ago in another of the library's repositories 40,000 valuable translations were destroyed by "a hot water leak."

The TV program "Perestroika Searchlight" once devoted a broadcast to the catastrophic—there is no other word—state of libraries. It described the state of our libraries supervised by the Ministry of Culture, AUCCTU, Academy of Sciences, and State Committee for Science and Technology as a "primitive communal system."

In the Moscow State Conservatory's Scientific Music Library imeni Taneyev the dilapidated piping hasn't been replaced since 1901. Hot or cold water can flood it at any moment. It contains music scores, folders, orchestrations and thousands of autographs of Bach, Beethoven, Mozart, Chaikovsky, Rakhmaninov, Prokofieff. There is a unique ancient Russian collection, there are manuscript scores; each orchestration is valued at 300 to 2,000 rubles.

While hunting for and acquiring manuscripts in distant lands we neglect those we have. We accept gifts of paintings though we are short of exhibition halls and museum space. We transfer the remains of a great singer from afar while at Yasnaya Polyana, in the very center of Russia, our entire community is unable to take care of another great grave. Bulgakov's home is falling apart in the center of Moscow.

Are not, then, all our acquisitions a reflection of ostentatious posturing, politics, passing benefit?

One can, of course, take one's own valuable possession off a bookshelf or a wall and replace it with some new acquisition. But wouldn't that be stupid?

Cultural values are part of the general mishandling of things. We purchase expensive equipment and allow it to rust. But at least they are not unique specimens, and new items can be purchased.

Does that mean we should reject an unexpected inheritance, a sincere gift? Certainly not. It is impossible to wait until we set our house in order: our Western compatriots won't survive, the valuables will be frittered away. It would be good if both processes could proceed simultaneously, together, providing reciprocal incentives for progress.

Here is a topic for reflection.

Petr Aleksandrovich Braslavskiy is a grandson of the celebrated Aleksandr Nikolayevich Benua.

"How did the idea of a museum occur?"

"Mother's brother Nikolay was once a stage director at La Scala and collaborated closely with the Bolshoi Theater. Once he returned from the Soviet Union and

declared that there was an opportunity to organize a Benua museum in our homeland. We immediately said, yes, provided it was serious. We were offered Moscow. We couldn't understand why, because Benua's city was, after all, Leningrad. Our house, built by my great-grandfather Nikolay Leontyevich Benua, is still there. True, currently fourteen Soviet families live in it. So we settled on Peterhoff. We had a very important condition: The Soviet side would contribute as many works to the museum as we. We knew, after all, that the Russian Museum had four thousand works of Aleksandr Benua."

"Four thousand?"

"Yes. But only five or six are exhibited in the halls. The rest are kept in the repository. We were told that neither the Russian Museum nor the Tretyakovka Gallery would want to reduce their holdings. We stood on our own for around four hours and finally convinced them. The main thing was good will on both sides."

In 1953 an Alexander Benua exhibition was held at Versailles. Yuriy Annenkov recalls how he came in, and there was Benua with a cane sitting in an armchair. He was 83 then. Annenkov approached him and said something like, How wonderful that you should be sitting in the middle of Versailles at your own exhibition. Benua responded: It would be even more wonderful if I were sitting at my exhibition in Petersburg.

"He was homesick, he always spoke of Russia."

"If he could know about his museum in his country."

"He would have been happy. What is happening with the museum is remarkable. I can hardly believe that I have been able to see it all in my lifetime. But the most remarkable thing should be tomorrow."

"God willing. How did he depart?"

"It's a sad story. Grandfather left fairly late, in 1924 or 25. He thought it was for a few months, but then he realized it was for good. The French hadn't recognized him yet. People in England and America hunted for his works, but here... It was a dual tragedy: Without a homeland and without recognition. On Sundays friends would gather at his place: Dobuzhinskiy, Grabar, Annenkov. They would talk about how it had been before, as though they were still living in Russia. He had contacts with the Soviet Embassy, which would constantly send him various invitations, but still, something had broken inside: There was no talk of returning."

"It would also probably have been dangerous."

"The greatest danger was, I think, in 1948-49. Father's sister, my aunt Yelena Yakovlevna Obratsova, got a Soviet passport. She wanted to go to Russia. It was in 1947, she got as far as Berlin. There, in the Soviet zone, she finally saw a Soviet person. It was an officer. He

asked, 'Who recruited you? Whose agent are you?' Despite her age, they kept her in prison conditions in Berlin for four years. But when they freed her she didn't return to Paris, no, she insisted on going on, to Moscow. A Moscow church gave her some money for the road. She lived some 60 kilometers, I think, from Moscow." It was probably 100, not 60. There is a so-called 'zone,' the 101st kilometer, no closer."

"Perhaps. Then she married a church deacon. They loved each other very much. By then they were already living in Moscow, in Plotnikov Street, in a crowded communal apartment. She painted icons, and she was happy to be home. She died six years ago."

"And grandfather died in 1960?"

"Yes. He was 90. He was still working several days before he died. He was working in the studio downstairs, then came up to the second floor and sat down on a chair. He said, 'I'm tired. I'll go take a rest.' It was in the afternoon, around four o'clock. He went into his room, lay down on the bed and began to speak deliriously. He kept talking about one topic: He is walking through a museum, sees a painting and recalls it: 'Ah, how beautiful, what a sky...' Then in another hall he sees a Velasquez and realizes that he is in the Prado museum. Then he is in Finland, then in Russia. He looks at the paintings and keeps saying how charming they are. The delirium lasted four days. he was happy as never before, and he died peacefully. It was old age, just old age."

We are gradually gaining experience in cooperation, ceasing to shy away from those on the other side. To be sure, it was hard not to shy away when the huge flywheel of propaganda against "them" whirled ceaselessly for decades. "They" were out there, and we shunned, suspected and exposed each other.

Dmitriy Sergeyevich Likhachev voiced a thought which would have seemed foolish ten or even only five years ago.

"Emigres would tell me that they could come to us only at great expense, with tourist vouchers, but they would like to live in Russia for two or three weeks or a month. So I kept thinking where we could organize such a, well, like rest home for descendants of Russian emigres. Where? Suzdal is no good, it's been spoiled now. It has that Intourist style which is no good for them, they need a Russian ambience. I thought about Tutayevo. It stands on two banks of the Volga, where the river is still charming. And it has a church, which is very important. But they're building a huge factory there. Then I thought about Myshkino, also in Yaroslavl Oblast. But everything there has become so dilapidated, the whole town has to be changed. My final selection was Staraya Russa. It has a Russian character, a fine Dostoyevskiy museum, Grushenka's house, a church. There they would get the feel of Russia. And the location, between Moscow and Leningrad, with Lake Ilmen and Novgorod nearby. They would be coming not to a hotel but home."

Staraya Russa. The melodious ringing of church bells, a red ice cross on the river. The unfamiliar name Bunin first heard from afar over the static of the ancient Rekord radio. Women have long since stopped peddling milk, no one offers fresh fish, and the bees in the surrounding country have been killed off by pestilences. Many years passed before I opened the cherished pages of "Mitya's Love," lonely and tragic. "One late evening Mitya came out onto the back porch. It was very dark and silent, with the smell of the damp field in the air. Teardrops of tiny stars came out from behind nighttime clouds over the vague contours of the orchard."

Mitya and I are now inseparable. In fact, I open any page of Bunin's prose at random and cannot part with it.

Not only a person has his motherland, but his creations as well, just as a cultivated tree is surrounded by its piece of earth. And the heritage, whether afar or nearby, is all part of the native land. An immortal line, a stroke of a brush are inseparable from the Motherland; the original from which the greatest masterpiece was drawn is at home, in the Fatherland.

What a hand we—this time we—would extend to them!

But a dozen years will pass before it is coordinated, agreed and built. How many will survive?

Moscow Ispolkom Tackles Budget Deficit

18000969 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 6 Apr 89 p 2

[Article by MOSCOW TASS Correspondent Yu. Ber-senev, under the rubric "In the Moscow Soviet Ispolkom": "How Can the Deficit Be Overcome?"]

[Text] Budget deficits are a chronic disease for some enterprises, and the attitude toward them has been a corresponding one, as though they were an incurable ailment about which everyone knew but tried not to speak. Under the new conditions of economic management, the curtain has been raised on this once-"forbidden" topic: far from being forbidden, attention is now being called to it in order that the necessary steps can be taken and the budget deficit can be overcome more quickly. This is the sort of atmosphere of glasnost and businesslike scrupulousness that characterized the 4 April session of the Moscow Soviet Ispolkom, at which progress in fulfilling the program for improving the financial health of enterprises and organizations of the main administrations, associations and administrations of the gorispolkom was discussed.

This program was developed for the second half of the five-year period and encompasses all the main branches of the capital's economy. In comparing its assignments with actual results, one can say that there is evidence of movement toward improving the financial condition of enterprises and organizations. What provides the grounds for drawing such a conclusion? First of all, the fact that the profits plan has been overfulfilled by 10.3 percent. The program called for 86.5 million rubles above plan in 1988, and 187.7 million rubles was obtained. The number of unprofitable enterprises was sharply reduced, and the amount of unproductive expenditures and losses from defective output was also cut.

Nonetheless, there were no upbeat appraisals: the financial condition of a number of enterprises and organizations continues to be unstable, and the financial situation as a whole continues to be complex, considering the city budget deficit (265 million rubles). In hearing the report from the Moscow Main Financial Administration and the speeches, one could not fail to note how seriously the approach to evaluating economic performance has changed. What has happened, for example, to the gross-output index, which formerly charmed public opinion with its roundness and solidity? Now there is not a trace of it, this index once held the most "exalted" place in the hierarchy of plan figures! Instead, the index of fulfillment of the profits plan has advanced into first place.

About nine percent of the enterprises and organizations failed to fulfill it last year: that is why the city sustained substantial losses. As was noted, enterprises of the Moscow City Agroindustrial Committee are a cause of special concern. Starting this year, all their payments go to the city budget, rather than to the republic budget, as before. And considering that the branch did not reach

the level of profits set by control figures of the RSFSR State Agroindustrial Committee last year, it will deliver a serious blow to Moscow's budget if its affairs are not straightened out.

Attention was focused especially sharply on this in that substantial additional funds were allocated for the needs of the Moscow City Agroindustrial Committee, but so far there has been little return on that money. Moreover, the branch's enterprises lowered their profits plans beneath control figures, and that cannot help leading to a direct increase in the city budget deficit.

Just what is being done in the branch to increase its profitability and, especially, to reduce losses in the transportation and storage of products? Unfortunately, representatives of the Moscow City Agroindustrial Committee failed to provide a satisfactory answer to this question. The executive of the Mosplodoovoshchprom [Moscow Fruit and Vegetable Industry] Association tried to cite "objective difficulties," in connection with which people quite reasonably objected: you cannot obscure the branch's main problem—large losses of products—with general arguments and numbers games. And effective results can hardly be expected from the measures that have been adopted as long as an attitude of dependency predominates among the enterprise executives.

Profits plans were lowered not only by Moscow City Agroindustrial Committee but also by the Mosgorprom [Moscow City Industrial] and Mosstroyaterialy [Moscow Building Materials] associations, and other enterprises. This allows many organizations to report the substantial overfulfillment of such plans. Of course, it is impressive if the profits that are realized exceed control figures by, say, 11 percent. But it was stressed that what the city needs are not high percentages of plan overfulfillment, but high performance results. In discussing ways to improve the city's financial situation, considerable attention was given, in particular, to the development of the cooperative movement. In this connection it was emphasized that it must be brought, first of all, into the production of products for which state enterprises cannot meet the need, and that unprofitable enterprises must be turned over to cooperatives. However, some economic executives view the cooperative movement as a campaign whose main purpose is to create as many of such associations as possible, and turn as many of such enterprises and production facilities as possible over to them. And the advisability of doing so is not always analyzed. Thus, trade and food-service enterprises have not only leased unused facilities to cooperatives but themselves decided to contract in size, closing their own operating trade outlets. Often costly trade equipment is turned over to cooperatives together with premises that have been remodeled at state expense. Yet the payment that is received from them for the use of buildings, machinery and equipment, and the income tax they pay, are generally considerably lower than the expenses that the state enterprises have undertaken for the remodeling of facilities.

In light of the discussion and the criticism, the ispolkom proposed "toughening" its projected decision with regard to the requirement that all of its enterprises and organizations analyze the state of affairs more thoroughly and promptly mobilize additional funds for improving the branches' financial health. The decision includes measures for improving the output of consumer goods, reducing production costs, increasing the effectiveness with which capital investments are utilized, improving the economic mechanism, and introducing progressive forms of cost accounting, with a view to shifting enterprises and organizations to the lease-contract system and the second model of cost accounting. The implementation of these measures is viewed as an essential condition for the successful restructuring of the economy.

The ispolkom examined and, on the whole, approved a regional program presented by a working group for improving transport safety in the city of Moscow for the period up to 1995. The ispolkom's criticisms pertained mainly to the need to link the program more closely to the five-year plan. Therefore, it was proposed that "priorities"—priority assignments—be more clearly identified, and that the cost of the materials and equipment needed to carry them out be determined. According to specialists' estimates, the entire program will require outlays of 1.5-2 billion rubles. It has been developed taking the experience of major foreign cities into account.

Moscow's Growth To Be Curtailed

18120089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 18, 7-14 May 89 p 13

[Article by Viktor Perevedentsev, sociologist: "New Plans, Old Ideas"]

[Text] A new Master Plan has been drafted for the development of Moscow and the Moscow Region in 1991-2010. The city's previous Master Plan to take us up to 1990 was adopted in 1971, but the capital was not developed according to it.

A key task of the previous plan was to limit population growth in the capital. Over 20 years it was to increase by one million to make eight million by the beginning of 1991. But there were already 8.9 million people living in the capital by the beginning of 1988. This extra million has led to uneven development of the capital. Muscovites are sensitive to all the unfinished building projects around them, the overloading of public transport, food and goods shortages and many other things.

The new Master Plan differs considerably from the old one, for the better. It shapes up the future not only of Moscow, but of the region as well. The latter is the country's biggest urban agglomeration with a population

of upwards of 15 million. For the first time, careful examination has been made of ecological problems, with close attention given to the preservation of cultural heritage.

Regrettably, however, the approach to the demographic aspect of the city and region's development has not changed. The principal guideline here is to regulate population growth by administrative measures. "Estimates have shown," the authors of the Master Plan told the newspaper MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, "that by 2010 the city's population will have increased to 9.8 million."

What kind of estimates? I attended the discussion of the Master Plan at the Moscow Scientists Club and learned the following: the natural growth of Moscow's population must stop; Moscow's population annually increases by roughly 40,000 on account of the so-called marriage migration; over 20 years this will mean an extra 800,000; further increases in migration must be ended administratively, by way of interdiction.

Alas, this is the same irksome approach that visualizes man as a "little cog" needed to reach some goal alien to himself, who may not be let in if he is "unnecessary", but who can be "brought in" if there is an acute need for his working hands. In the light of our times of perestroika, this is unacceptable.

The demographic capacity of any city is determined by the number of jobs. Increases "over and above plan" of Moscow's population were a result of the creation of new industrial enterprises, the expansion of the old, and the emergency of new scientific and other institutions. Moscow's population should be adjusted not by putting a quota on "marriage migration", but by determining the number of jobs in the city.

If the institutes of the Master Plan for Moscow and the Moscow Region had demographers, the planners would know that the "closed" nature of Moscow, caused by bans on domicile registration for people from elsewhere, has brought about a situation where elderly people almost never leave the capital for fear they will not be allowed back in. This accelerates the ageing of the city's population. Today there are two million pensioners for its nine million inhabitants. Their number will rapidly grow. And if the influx of young people to Moscow is brought to a halt, it will turn into a city of pensioners in a few decades.

The situation will not be saved by administrative regulations or the passport regime. It is common knowledge, for instance, that, in the past 15 years, London's population has diminished by more than a million. Yet you need no special permission to live there.

It has also to be recalled that the Final Document of the Vienna Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe Follow-Up Meeting has it that: "The participating States will respect fully the right of everyone—to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State...."

But the compilers of the Master Plan for the development of Moscow and the Moscow Region stubbornly refuse to respect this "right of everyone."

Officials Confront Consumer Goods Shortage

18000970 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 7 Apr 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "To Improve Food Supply"]

[Text] A conference of managers of the city's party, Soviet, and economic bodies and of a number of ministries and departments was held at the Moscow Party Gorkom on 6 April. It examined urgent measures for a stable supply of foodstuffs and fruit and vegetables products for the city during the period of preholiday trade.

It was noted that recently there has been a tense situation with the population's provision with food products, including those that are produced in a sufficient quantity at Moscow enterprises and are delivered to the city from the country's other regions according to market allocations. Such a situation has become possible owing to the lack of proper responsibility on the part of managers of industrial, transport, and trade enterprises for a prompt output, delivery, and trade organization under conditions of the constantly increasing demand of Moscow residents and the capital's guests, as well as the low exactingness on the part of party raykoms and executive committees of rayon soviets with respect to those of them that do not ensure the fulfillment of the duties imposed on them.

As before, Moscow residents justly criticize the lack of meat products, milk, bread, flour products, fruit and vegetable products, and potatoes for sale during the entire work day.

This had led to the fact that the indicated purely economic problem has acquired an ever more perceptible political tinge recently.

At the same time, the opportunities to rectify the state of affairs, which exist in the city, are by no means utilized fully. An analysis shows that the malfunctions in industry and transport and the inefficiency in trade break the closed chain and disrupt its links, as a result of which the consumer suffers.

The operation of Mosgoragroprom enterprises, which are called upon to replenish the commodity resources of foodstuffs and of fruit and vegetables products, was

subjected to sharp criticism at the conference. At enterprises of the "Milk" Production Association (Comrade Antonov) the state of affairs with the output of products necessary for the city is unsatisfactory. The Moscow Meat Processing Combine and the Sausage Plant No 1 of the Mosmyasoprom Association (Comrade Tulupov) operates with disruptions.

Despite the increased need for a number of foodstuffs, the city's construction organizations lag behind in the construction of projects of the agro-industrial complex and trade and of hothouses in Moscow Oblast.

The low level of trade organization, the low service standard, the lack of sufficient attention to this sector on the part of rayon organizations, and the weak help on the part of enterprises and organizations remain weak spots.

There are numerous cases of disruptions in the on-line output of machines and of delays and an underallocation of their necessary number to manufacturing plants by motor vehicle combines Nos 38 and 41 and by the motor pool of the Moskhlebrans Association. The management of the Main Administration of Road Transport of the Moscow City Executive Committee does not utilize such a reserve of the motor pool as the departmental transport of the city's enterprises, organizations, and institutions.

The conference stressed the personal responsibility of managers of the Main Administration of Trade, Public Dining, and Domestic and Paid Services (Comrade Zharov), of Mosgoragroprom (Comrade Luzhkov), and of the Main Administration of Road Transport of the Moscow City Executive Committee (Comrade Kazantsev) for taking urgent steps for a regular supply of foodstuffs for the population and a well-coordinated operation of the services subordinate to them. To ensure effective control over the adoption of measures throughout the city and in every rayon, control groups were formed. The coordination of their work was entrusted to the people's control committee in the city.

Mosagroprom (Comrade Luzhkov) and rayon managers were instructed to ensure shortened periods of mastering newly commissioned capacities of food and processing industry enterprises and an increase in the output of foodstuffs at existing ones.

First secretaries of rayon committees of the CPSU and chairmen of executive committees were entrusted with heading the work on introducing order in the supply for the city population in rayons. It was proposed that auditing commissions of the party gorkom and party raykoms institute strict party proceedings against party member managers, who do not fulfill the duties imposed on them in connection with ensuring the fulfillment of assignments by enterprises for the production of food products, delivery of foodstuffs, and regular trade.

The proposal by trade-union organizations on applying economic sanctions against enterprise collectives, which do not ensure the fulfillment of the set assignments for the production of consumer goods and reduce the output of inexpensive articles, thereby aggravating the situation on the Moscow market and creating difficulties in the provision of goods for Moscow residents, was adopted.

In this connection the Moscow City Planning Commission (Comrade Bystrov) jointly with the Moscow City Construction Committee (Comrade Surov) were instructed to work out within a week proposals on ensuring an accelerated construction and commissioning of projects of the agro-industrial complex and trade.

A note was made of the statements by managers of the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry, the Central Union of Consumer Societies, and USSR and RSFSR ministries of trade that their subordinate organizations would take exhaustive steps for deliveries of foodstuffs to the city of Moscow in accordance with the coordinated assignments.

The conference stressed the special responsibility and role of everyone that is connected with the supply of foodstuffs for Moscow residents for taking urgent steps to improve the state of affairs.

Background of Norilsk Miners' Strike Revealed
18000848 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 15 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by D. Usachev; "Compromise"]

[Text] "Miners! It is with a great deal of concern that we have learned that enterprises which are very important for the aluminum industry and for the entire national economy have stopped operating. You have given in to agitation by irresponsible persons whose goals have nothing in common with the workers' interests. We would very much like to persuade you not to repeat our mistakes. not to employ for solving essentially economic and social problems methods which will not provide anything but grief and bitter disillusionment.... We have realized this, even though we are late in doing so...."

This telegram from Norilsk arrived at the Northern Urals Bauxite Mine. V.I. Barabutin, a brigade-leader of loading-and-supplying machine operators at the Oktybrskiy Mine, V.V. Vrazhnik, an excavating machine operator at the Medvezhiy ruchey Mine, who is also a member of the Labor Collective Council at the Norilsk Mining and Metallurgical Combine, and others thereby appealed to their fellow workers in the Urals.

On the day when the telegram was sent Norilsk's mining enterprises had already gone back onto their normal work schedules. But now at all five mines of the Northern Urals Bauxite Mine Combine the dramatic events were just then gathering force. Approximately 2,500 miners, after descending with their shifts in sequence to

the underground levels, were not coming back up to the surface. A day passed, a second,...a fourth.... There was a real danger that the Bogoslovskiy and Uralskiy Aluminum Plants, which Severouralsk supplies with bauxites, would stop operating.

But just what had evoked dissatisfaction among the miners and impelled them to decide to take such a desperate step? With the conversion to cost accounting, the Northern Urals Bauxite Mine had fallen into a very bad economic condition. The awkward situation was as follows: the miners of the Northern Urals provide the country with the lion's share of the bauxites mined, but the money earned ceased to be sufficient even for wages; this was a common trouble for most of the mining enterprises. In order to be able to pay the workers, the council of the association's labor collective twice during recent months appealed to the workers to agree to lend the money for their wages from the material-incentives fund. The accounts of these loans led to a situation whereby the material-incentives funds were insufficient to make the awards for the year's results, and it was decided to pay the 13th wage in half the regular amount.

In general, the psychological situation at the mine was tense. But the direct occasion for a disruption was a conflict at one of the sections of shaft 15-15 "bis". During the first few days of April the miners working at the face held a meeting without inviting the administration to attend. They set forth several conditions: choose an intelligent, well-trained specialist to direct the section, increase wages, replace poorly worked-out norms, solve the problem of work clothes. All this had been spoken about before, but nothing had been changed. For example, the time periods for wearing work clothes have remained so long that the miners walk about just in belts and straps; their clothing is always ripped and torn, coming out at the elbows and knees; their rubber boots are also torn. But the procedure for writing off a uniform which has become too decrepit for use is so densely packed with bureaucratic stipulations that you don't want to get tangled up in it.

This time the miners did not simply formulate their demands but also indicated to the mine chief, P.A. Rempel, a time period during which they expected their demands to be carried out; it extended to 6 April.

The section's workers waited until 6 April, expecting that someone from the supervisory staff would talk with them. But they waited in vain. And on 7 April the morning shift did not come out of the mine-shaft. They were joined by other shifts and by other mines.

The initiating group from among the strikers, which called itself the strike committee, gathered complaints from the miners in the mines and formulated general demands on the administration; the number of these demands at first reached 30. Talks began with the association's management staff. To the credit of the management and trade-union committee, they did not

set themselves up in opposition to the workers, nor did they take offense. They organized food service for the people underground and proposed to the initiating group that persons with stomach trouble, diabetes, and hypertension be brought up to the surface. And they began to attentively study the demands, on most of which solutions were reached right away. Very soon the number of points was reduced to five, and these were within the competence of the ministry.

I.V. Glushkov, the deputy minister of ferrous metallurgy, flew to Severouralsk, but he turned out to be unprepared to engage in a dialogue. He agreed to hold talks but only on the surface, in the mine's administration office, having declared that he would not go down into non-operating shafts because there was nothing for him to do there. The reaction to this was something like the following: so he disdains coming down here to talk to us, then we won't come out at all! By this time the workers' demands had hardened.

The delay and indifference manifested by the deputy minister caused the strike to last extra days. After another day, on a Sunday, a ministerial commission did, after all, descend underground in order to discuss the draft of a labor agreement with the strikers.

The miners did not come up to the surface until a day and a half after the initiating group agreed to a compromise variant proposed by the ministerial commission. The management apparatus will be reduced by 30 percent, and the mine will be renamed as an association. It was decided to moderate as sensibly as possible the zeal of the monitoring organizations—all kinds of mining-engineering inspectorates, militarized, mine-rescue detachments, safety-technique sections, which under the pretext of checking up on the conditions of the excavations, roofing, rails, and ties, simply were not allowing the miners to mine ore. The excavation norm was reduced by 7-12 percent, and the wages of the group working at the face were raised by an average of 130 rubles.

On the afternoon of 11 April V.A. Durasov, the minister of ferrous metallurgy, flew into Severouralsk. On the evening of that same day the mine began sending bauxites up to the surface again. Let's return once more to the telegram sent by the Norilsk miners, who had ceased their own strike several days previously: "It's time that we became the real masters of enterprises and the country itself, but what kind of a master would raise his hand and injure himself, lose time, outout, profits, and reduce the sources of well-being for his family and society? We call upon you...to earn with your own labor the money to improve life. There is no other way to solve the existing problems nowadays."

Threat to Tatar Future Assessed

18120088 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 18,
7-14 May 89 p 4

[Article by Nur Garipov, engineer and delegate to the Tatar Constituent Congress: "Tatars' Ethnic Awareness To Be Revived"]

[Text] Kazan has recently been the host of a congress of representatives of the USSR's seven million Tatars (the Tatar Autonomous Republic has only 1.7 million Tatars among its population). Over one thousand delegates discussed the present and the future of the country's Tatar community which faces a very real threat of losing its own language culture and ethnic awareness. For example, 40 per cent of Tatars living in Moscow cannot speak or understand the Tatar language, the majority are oblivious of the facts of Tatar history and traditions. Their use of the Arabic alphabet was replaced in 1924 by the Latin alphabet, which in turn was replaced with the Russian alphabet in 1927. That reform severed the ties of subsequent generations of Tatars with their cultural past.

Scholars, public figures and Moslem clergymen delegated to the congress were busy developing a programme for the Tatar movement. They debated and finally adopted the Rules and resolutions which emphasized that the preservation, revival, protection and development of each of the USSR's ethnic groups should be regarded as the responsibility of the state and the entire society, irrespective of the size of those ethnic groups. The congress elected members of the Tatar Social Centre. However, the division of Soviet Republics into "first-class" and "second-class", or into "promising" and "unpromising" ones which was handed down to us by Stalin's ethnic policy should be done away with. Yet lots of people, including scientists, economists and lawyers still think this way.

In the years of Soviet power, Tatars felt themselves to be one nation irrespective of where they lived. They had Tatar schools, press, theatres and literary associations. This was the case, until the early 1930s, in Moscow, Leningrad, Kazakhstan, Central Asia and other regions. The rights of Tatars should be the same everywhere irrespective of any territorial borders. We have one culture, one language and therefore must exist as an integral nationality. We hope that the forthcoming plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee on ethnic issue will help the country discard those conceptions of nationalities which have been serving the needs of the authoritarian and bureaucratic system. Without ensuring each ethnic group its constitutional rights and freedoms as well as economic, social and political guarantees for these rights and freedoms, there can be neither equality nor harmony in ethnic and interethnic relations.

Intermovement Leader Shepelevich Discusses Events in Estonia

*18001017 Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian
21 Mar 89 p 3*

[Interview with I. Shepelevich by ETA correspondent V. Tsion: "Where Are We Going? Let Us Decide That Together"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Probably all of Estonia's inhabitants, regardless of their linguistic affiliation, were perturbed by the recent republic meeting of representatives of the labor collectives.

An ETA correspondent asked I. Shepelevich, director of the Electrotechnical Plant imeni Kh. Pegelman and board member of the republic Joint Council of Labor Collectives, to comment on this action, and also on the political situation now prevailing in Estonia.

[Correspondent] Many people are now interested in the answer to the question of why all this is being done. What is the ultimate goal that any particular side is trying to reach?

[Shepelevich] Sometime in August I found myself in possession of a document drawn up scholars in Tartu. It was a draft for constitutional reform in the Estonian SSR. The ultimate goal defined by that document was to suspend the operation of the USSR Constitution on Estonian territory and transform the USSR into a confederation of equal republics united by a central government by treaty. Here, all the union republics would delegate to the central government only matters connected with defense and diplomacy. A whole series of corresponding drafts of legislative enactments have been drawn up that would comprise a unified chain of constitutional reform. This put us on our guard: was not sometimes being decided in Estonia in such a way that it would be detrimental to our entire country?

The Russian people have over many, many years become accustomed to thinking that the people who sit in Moscow know everything, that perestroyka is moving ahead at full speed there, and that there are certain teams and groups that are engaged in work on a similar kind of draft. But when we turned to a whole series of academy institutes and highly placed comrades, we concluded that in reality it was Estonia that was engaged in this specific matter and that everything purposeful was going on here. But at the center there were still the uncoordinated departments and the uncoordinated institutes. They continue to work from one case to another in drawing up raw draft legislation, or in a best case situation convene comprehensive groups to work on a particular document, which are then disbanded to their own departments until the next task comes along.

Following the arrival of Viktor Mikhaylovich Chebrikov we were expecting that there would be some movement toward a unified policy for the center and the republic. But this did not occur. The Estonian people are inclined

to be more democratic than the Russian-speaking population and they understand that the policy now being pursued by the party Central Committee and the public opinion that has been created in the world and in the country no longer simply permit the use of measures of prohibition to take over and stifle democracy. By making a detailed analysis of many documents, the actual approach to perestroyka at the center and in the republic, and consulting with our colleagues and traveling about Russia, we concluded that in reality there are in some places the gleams of certain ideas and that in some places we see some groupings that are beginning to think about where we are on the political and economic planes. And here in Estonia this is all taking place rapidly, with well-considered steps. The only thing we cannot understand is how politicians and the people at the helm of party ideology and in the leadership of the republic Supreme Soviet are failing to understand the danger in holding two powerful "linguistic" groupings in tension. This means dooming everything to failure.

[Correspondent] What, in your opinion, are the main reasons for the contradictions between the "linguistic" groups in the republic?

[Shepelevich] The first and most powerful explosion has occurred in connection with the Law on Language. There have been all kinds of opinions, and calls have been heard for bilingualism: they say that it is essential to introduce two official languages—Estonian and Russian. This sounds quite absurd: for the Russian language is everywhere on the territory of the Soviet Union, from ocean to ocean and it has no status either in the Constitution or in legislative enactments. And suddenly, in a small national republic it should achieve the status of an official language. Naturally, today the Russian language should be defined in all-union legislative enactments and should be underpinned constitutionally and have a definite status on all the territory of the country. If Estonia were a separate state then undoubtedly no one, no sensible politician would infringe on such a large linguistic grouping. He would probably consider experience gained abroad in those countries where both four languages and two languages are "in use" but where everything is done to maintain tranquillity and the equality of the linguistic masses. Ultimately we have formed the opinion that Russian cannot be the official language on the territory of Estonia. But how does this stand when one the one hand we preach equality of culture and equal development of the nations, and when the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee 13th Plenum set a course toward the free development of cultural autonomies, while at the same time they are forced to read and write in Estonian in the Russian-speaking labor collectives? How should this be assessed from a purely moral standpoint? And if we talk from the standpoint of practical implementation of this factor then it is in general absurd. Whereas it is possible over 40 or 50 years for a person to learn to conduct his dealings at the domestic level, then in order to teach him to read and write and think in another language we shall need a quite lengthy period and some solid education.

[Correspondent] What, in your opinion, is the solution to this situation? How can ways to mutual understanding be found?

[Shepelevich] We are now in the fourth year of perestroika and we are all looking and observing and thinking: where is the theory for perestroika? We know the thesis of perestroika—glasnost; we know the direction toward democratization; we know an entire series of legislative enactments that even if not yet born are at least being put into motion. They include the law on the cooperative system, the law on the state enterprise, and the repeatedly worked draft law that was recently published. In it we find an inadequate understanding of the important issue of interethnic relations. For example, formulation of the republic budget. What is the government proposing? Again inequality between enterprises of all-union subordination and local enterprises. It has become absurd. An enterprise of local subordination makes a 100-percent payment to the republic budget for manpower while an all-union enterprise pays 50 percent. A local enterprise makes up to 90 percent of its payments to the all-union budget and 10 percent to the all-union budget, while an enterprise of all-union subordination pays up to 40 percent into the all-union budget. Tomorrow this will lead to the next conflict situation. When they start to consider questions of deductions to the republic budget and when they start to look at how this budget is allocated and where it goes, the finger will necessarily be pointed, and they will say: do not make your claims against us but against the all-union government, which is fleecing you. Naturally we shall oppose this kind of solution at all levels and we shall act for equal deductions to the republic budget and likewise to the budget of the central government. So that the money is intermixed and there can be no talk of unequal participation in the forming of the republic budget.

Today we cannot think the same as the Estonians because the Estonians have for 30 years been less under the ideological press under which we have lived. In reality the Russians are a good-natured, disciplined and trustful people who throughout their entire history have never seen a particularly beautiful life. Today, if we look at it from the purely economic aspect, then that Russia which according to unofficial figures produces R54 billion more than it consumes, is not in the top ten in terms of living standards for the USSR. And this is the Russia that gives the country its main currency.

If we talk about the money deductions then we understand quite well that all this currency goes for oil and greasy furs, timber, diamonds, gold—in short, we are plundering our own country as we buy from abroad that which is produced by the sun and the light and the air—grain, Bulgarian tomatoes and so forth. This is not a sensible policy. During the period of glasnost we have finally recognized what Stalinism was, what the period of stagnation was. It turns out that we have not built this socialism and when it is subjected to mass criticism we must understand the condition of people aged 40 to 60

who really believed their government and who accepted danger and did not spare their health for the ideology that they considered sacred. And the rejection of all those achievements and all that socialism through which we have passed simply hurts people and evokes a corresponding reaction. Whatever else it might have been, the past stage of history was heroic for millions of people living today, a period of unrealized hopes.

Today very much that is good can be taken from that theory and from the theses that the Estonians are propagandizing. They include a reasonable attitude in any city toward the production and social spheres, and probably no one is against that. They include the emancipation of the individual and variety in forms of ownership, and they include raising the living standard.

So take any Russian city: there are overloaded industrial regions where the old principle still operates—the leftovers for the social sphere. The main thing is the needs of the state. It is under this slogan that people are still living today.

But notwithstanding, the Estonian-speaking and Russian-speaking populations in the republic do have objectively different interests. And in the present situation to continue the line of ignoring the opinion of the Russian-speaking population in matters of political and economic development in the republic is, to put it mildly, not reasonable.

[Correspondent] And how do you assess the precedent of ignoring the republic's legislative enactments? What I have in mind is the statement to the effect that articles 4 and 12 of the Law on Language will not go into force at the "Dvigatel."

[Shepelevich] The republic itself has provided an example of constitutional disobedience by making the 16 November amendment to its own Constitution. Today, Narva, Kokhla-Yarve, Sillamäe and Russian-speaking collectives at plants may go down the same path. They not accept or subordinate themselves to the latest legislative enactments that infringe on their civic and human rights.

And who needs this kind of split in Estonia? Who needs constant tension right there in Tallinn? We would suggest that we start by examining everything directly in the party gorkom and in the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee together with the communists who are in authority, in the presence of both Estonians and Russians and representatives of all the movements. Let us get together at a roundtable and clarify where we are going and why we are doing everything that we are doing, and we shall be able to stop the extremism and take hold of and dampen down today all these excesses of national emotion so as to focus our attention on solving the problems connected with political and economic reform.

Before the 14 March meeting all our proposals and all our talks failed to produce any action. That meeting was essentially the first powerful statement that consolidated the Russian-speaking population. Today various demands are being made. Some of them undoubtedly cannot be met, and some have been made in an ill-considered manner and are therefore leading not to consolidation but to even greater tension. But I, for example, am convinced that the meeting should prompt the party gorkom to sit down at the negotiating table with the leaders of all the movements where are members of the gorkom. They should certainly look at the gorkom in the central committee and also convene all movements so as to talk openly about where we are going, where we are rushing to. God forbid that there should be a clash on Estonian territory between the two different linguistic groups, and god forbid that there should be a situation on Estonian territory like the one on Karabakh—that would be the end of perestroika not only in Estonia but throughout the country.

Newspaper Discusses Fronts, Ethnic Polarization in Latvia

18000597 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
3 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by A. Timkov, SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent: "...But We Need Dialogue"]

[Text] "What is happening in the Prebaltic republics? What informal associations have been created there, and what is the nature of their program—for or against perestroika?..."

[Signed] P. Podosinnikov, Sosnovskiy rayon, Tambov oblast"

The editors received similar letters written by N. Petrov from Grakhovskiy rayon in the Udmurt ASSR, I. Gasenko from Novaya Kakhovka in Kherson oblast, N. Sosnina from Kopeysk in Chelyabinsk oblast, and many others.

The Baltic republics have become one of the regions toward which the attention of probably the entire country is riveted. Along with the truth, there are rumors circulating—one more absurd than the next. Where, from what sources, is this "information" taken? Perhaps it is to someone's advantage to make up fabrications? This is difficult to say. However, we can say one thing: A far from synonymous, largely contradictory situation has arisen in the republic.

The reasons which have given rise to it are reminiscent of a tightly wound ball. Some people think as follows: The region which produces a greater per capita income than any other in the country suffers from a shortage of products and goods less than the rest. Yet if we look closer at what is the truth and what is fabrication, we see that this is not so! Another concern is the unique natural complex on the shores of the Baltic which restores the

health of the people, yet is itself in need of treatment. They speak also of difficulties in the linguistic sphere for the native population. In the republic's capital and other cities a Latvian who does not speak Russian feels more uncomfortable than a Russian who does not speak Latvian. Here too, like everywhere, there are problems in the social sphere—in provision of housing and consumer goods...

This foundation of dissatisfaction has provided the basis for the meetings and gatherings held throughout the republic demanding economic and political sovereignty of Latvia, cessation of the mechanical growth of the population, and closure of enterprises which do harm to the environment. There is an active struggle for priority development of agriculture and for giving Latvian the status of the state language. The problems are extremely serious and require comprehensive evaluation and study. In deed, however, in the means of mass information we in fact hear the voice of only one side. Anyone who expresses a different opinion is listed among the enemies of perestroika.

The people who live in the republic evaluate the events in a different way. They say that the normal process of perestroika is in progress, and there is no need to exaggerate. Of course, there are extremists who throw out anti-socialist and anti-Soviet slogans, but they do not represent the people. No one has given them the authority to speak in the name of the Latvians or the Russians. Others express alarm and concern. They perceive the numerous meetings, the heated discussions and the pickets as a precursor of the unpredictable, and the main thing is that when all the energy goes into discussions, there seems to be no attention or strength left for the practical resolution of acute social and economic problems.

Who is right? Whose point of view is preferable? Each one, probably, has a measure of truth. And yet we are concerned. Will the high fervor of passions really grow into unpredictable events? Alarming signs are already appearing. In the last 6 months there have been 20 incidents reported in the republic based on inter-ethnic differences. They were instigated sometimes by Latvians, and sometimes by Russians.

The writer, Vladlen Dozortsev, a member of the Latvian People's Front дума, is convinced that things will not reach the fateful limit in the republic. Poet Yanis Peters believes that in Latvia there is no conflict between Russians and Latvians, but rather that the conflict is between the proponents of perestroika and their enemies. We would really like to believe these words. Yet how, then, can we perceive the evaluation of the situation in the republic given at the recent Latvian CP Central Committee Plenum. The speech presented by Central Committee First Secretary Ya. Ya. Vagris stated: "But we, comrades, must look truth in the eye. In connection with the formation of the Latvian People's Front and the Interfront there is a polarization of the

population according to the national indicator. Communists are working in both fronts, which means that there is also a stratification in the party, and this is inadmissible".

How did all this begin? Today many believe that we should consider the point of departure to be the constituent congress of the Latvian People's Front. However, we believe that the real reasons are much more complex. Economic difficulties are largely at fault.

I recall my summer trips throughout the republic, the meetings with laborers in the fields and on the farms. I heard many complaints about the lack of food products in the rural stores, the unfair distribution of funds for meat, and the introduction of coupons for sugar. The republic's Council of Ministers has made the decision to prohibit mailing of packages containing foodstuffs, candy, and certain industrial goods. The reaction to this measure was far from synonymous. It is no secret that the Russian-speaking population felt most affected by this measure.

The gap in inter-ethnic relations has widened. Labels such as "migrants" and "people without a homeland" have actively begun appearing in the press and in radio and television broadcasts. The longer it went, the worse it got, and then even more insulting words were heard—"colonists", "occupationists". This was said about those people who came here as soldiers, liberating the republic from the fascist occupation, and remained here to live and work, resurrecting the war-torn economy! It is sad and unjust. Understandably, passions began to heat up. Mutual bickering became more frequent and everyday nationalism increased.

In comparing my summer impressions with the current ones, I notice drastic changes. During a recent meeting with a PFL [People's Front of Latvia] group at the Valmiyerskiy rayselkhoztekhnik, the question was often asked why the Russians do not return to their homeland. There were complaints about their not knowing the Latvian language and about their indifference toward the customs and the culture. That is fair. But is this not our common misfortune? Is it rational to stir the passions when we can discuss everything calmly? Especially since many Russians are prepared to study the language, yet there are not enough teachers, textbooks, and dictionaries. For years we ascribed no importance to this, and now we need time and patience.

There are possibilities for bridging the gaps. Yet again, I repeat, under one condition: If the stake is placed not on a monolog, but on a dialogue, on tolerance and respect to a different opinion which does not coincide with one's own. However, the pluralism of opinions which the PFL leaders want is still understood by them as a one-way street. It is enough to express even the slightest disagreement, and a hail of insults and ultimative demands will rain down on the opponent. It is as if only those who are members of the PFL can be proponents of perestroika.

The news of the birth of another public movement—the Interfront—was perceived by the PFL leaders with hostile reaction. What is it for, who needs this contradiction of fronts, this division of the people according to national indicator? This was often heard from the tribunals, from the newspapers, and resounded over radio and television. And what labels were not placed on the activists standing at the sources of the organization!

Once again the party organizations found themselves either in the role of bystanders and observers, or tried to say their word too timidly. As noted at the Latvian CP Central Committee Plenum, the communists support any healthy initiatives which facilitate perestroika. They denounce extremism and anti-socialist actions, and stand for consolidation. If only we could fill this just position with specific content.

This is not easy to do. After the constituent congress of the republic's Interfront, the barometer registering the social atmosphere began to rise. The republic was again swept with protest meetings and gatherings. Resolutions were adopted criticizing not only individual speeches, but the Congress as a whole. The editorial offices of the newspapers, radio and television were literally bombarded with letters, many of them bearing hundreds of signatures.

People have a right to express their attitude toward the new social organization, particularly since the congress gave them a convincing reason for this. Improper speeches and shouts by the Interfront members such as "we will brand you", "we will crucify you", "we will not allow you" cannot leave anyone feeling indifferent. I too am ashamed for my fellow countrymen who have allowed themselves to act this way. Yet another thing disturbs me. The campaign of protests seems too well rehearsed. The unanimity with which the proponents of the PFL declaim the Interfront and paint it only in somber tones puts us on our guard.

Of course, the results of the Interfront congress in no way satisfied either the leaders of the new movement or its members, who sincerely desire peace and calm in their common home, as Latvia has been called since the forum of peoples. But a word, once it has flown out, is not a bird. It cannot be caught. It is difficult to make many people understand that which we have tried for a long time to explain: The Interfront will not bring anything good. It should be judged not by individual speeches, but by the adopted documents. To lay down bridges and to seek a means toward dialogue under these conditions is not easy. This became particularly apparent during the time of the recent mass demonstrations devoted to the anniversary of the Soviet Army, in which primarily workers of non-Latvian nationality participated. It was in their faces that the insults were thrown. Yet why did we not see party workers trying to seek a means to the dialogue there?

Further delimitation is continuing. New public organizations are emerging and being created. From the PFL there is the Radical People's Front, although the ties with it have been severed. An agricultural union is being formed and the Movement for Latvian National Independence has been organizationally formulated. All of them speak out in favor of perestroika, yet visualize its attainment through different means.

The leaders of the Movement for Latvian National Independence, as noted at the Latvian CP Central Committee Plenum, call for the liquidation of the existing state order of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, deny its legality, and do not recognize the very historical choice of the workers of Latvia in favor of socialism.

This is the spectrum of forces which has entered the republic's political arena. At the Latvian CP Central Committee Plenum the following question often resounded: What is the attitude of communists to so many different social movements? I spoke about this with several members of the People's Front дума which unifies them and cooperates with them, excluding the Interfront. They answered approximately as follows: And would it be better if we push them away from the PFL? Such an opinion has a right to life. We must try to convince those who think differently, and even better, in the words of the poet Ya. Peters, we must create such a Soviet Union which there would be no reason to secede from. However, it is difficult to understand why the PFL is so loyal to some and irreconcilable to others—to the Interfront, refuting all its efforts at rapprochement.

The acuteness of the political struggle in the republic has not waned. It is being fed by the impartial criticism of the past, but there is a gradual acknowledgement of the fact that we must also change over to positions of constructivism. People are beginning to understand that it is dangerous to pull a small blanket in different directions. There is danger of tearing it. Gradually they are drawing a better distinction between where there is true concern for the republic, and where there is merely a loud phrase, speculation on difficulties masking self-serving purposes for the sake of which all means are good. More often we hear judgements about the fact that it is time to back the words up with deeds. In this situation it would be very important for the republic's party organizations to help all the republic residents, regardless of their national affiliation, to understand that perestroika requires consolidation, that it is specifically through it that the path toward improving the living standard of the people lies. All this will not happen by itself. We must struggle and denounce those who call for changes on the paths of socialist renovation by words alone.

I believe that the united councils of the two fronts which are being formed for joint work at the enterprises are predecessors of good things to come. It is important to support them, to allow them to gain strength, to cleanse the national rebirth of the Latvian people from all that is

egotistical, superficial, and foreign. To paraphrase the words of the Kazakh poet O. Suleymenov, by erecting the mountains we will not belittle the steppes.

Activities of Latvian People's Front Social Committees Described

Social Justice Committee Head Interviewed
18000854 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian
23 Mar 89 p 3

[Interview with Andris Teykmanis, head of the Latvian People's Front Social Justice Committee, conducted by Correspondent Olga Avdevich: "Vital Issues: Equal Rights—The Right To Be Equals": "A Social Justice Committee Has Been Established Under the Latvian People's Front"]

[Text] I know that the very mention of the Latvian People's Front puts some people on their guard. But let us cast off all bias and at last try to understand that there is nothing about ethnicity which should divide us. And that the primary cause of the irritation, distrust and often rage which explode in worsening interethnic relations in fact lies with our unresolved social problems, problems which are common to all of us, regardless of our nationality. Yet those problems do affect people differently depending on the position they hold, their rank or their connections...

We are all very well aware that the social equality proclaimed in our society is quite simply a myth. If we are in any way equal, then it is in the fact that we all breathe the same polluted air, drink the same polluted water and swim in the same polluted gulf. As for the rest... The majority get jostled standing in line at the same counters. But some people come in the back door where there are no lines and get things that never even go on sale at all. Many people struggle with bureaucrats' impenetrable indifference. But for some people that indifference is transformed into friendly sympathy just as soon as "telephone law" is applied. Some people's most cherished dream is to move out of an overcrowded communal apartment. Yet some people can move from one apartment to another without difficulty, finding one that is bigger and better designed.

We must all realize that our main problem today is the problem of social justice. And that is a problem with no ethnic overtones.

Our guest today is Andris Teykmanis, head of the Latvian People's Front Social Justice Committee and a judge in the People's Court of Kirovskiy Rayon, Riga.

"I am ashamed that I can do so little," Andris immediately admits. But that admission does not mean that he feels completely powerless and has given in or given up the struggle. He is merely justifying himself to those people who level reproaches like these at the Latvian People's Front: 'the People's Front has been in existence

for six months now, and we cannot see any tangible results.' Well, we hear other complaints in a similar vein: 'restructuring has been underway for all these years, yet...' Could it be that some people simply find it convenient to place on the Latvian People's Front all the responsibility for solving problems that have been building for decades? Still, the Latvian People's Front is not just rallies and demonstrations, as some people believe. It is also day-to-day, "behind-the-scenes" action. Perhaps the most disturbing and arduous work falls on the Social Justice Committee.

[Correspondent] With what sort of problems do people most often come to you?

[Teykmanis] People come to us seeking protection and justice. If a person has been turned down by the agency which is directly responsible for resolving his problem, he comes to us. For example, a retiree may complain that he or she is not receiving the correct pension. Or we may receive a report that someone has obtained an apartment by illegal means. Or that someone's roof has been leaking for years. Many people see us as some sort of complaint bureau.

[Correspondent] When people come to you they expect help. Do their expectations correspond to your capabilities?

[Teykmanis] Unfortunately in the majority of cases we are powerless to do anything, because the Latvian People's Front is a social organization and as such has the same rights as any other social organization. All we can do is verify the report, provide detailed legal consultation, draw up a petition and send it to the agency which is supposed to deal with the problem. Still, the Latvian People's Front does have a certain amount of influence and authority, so perhaps our petitions will help some people.

[Correspondent] The case of the apartment building on V. Tereshkova Street showed that people are probably most acutely aware of social justice as it relates to the distribution of housing.

[Teykmanis] Yes, we constantly receive people who are at the point of despair, who are living in slums (I cannot think of any other word to describe them) and who have no prospects of any change in the near future. People report to us when someone has moved into an apartment illegally, when someone pays a bribe to move up the housing list, and so on. Naturally we check out the facts. But even if the facts prove to be true that does not mean that we can immediately toss out the offenders and restore justice. By the way, we want to win the right for our representatives to attend meetings of ispolkom housing commissions when they are distributing housing.

Unfortunately, violation of housing laws has become systematic here. Our committee drew up guidelines on how to check up on compliance with laws pertaining to

housing, had them copied and sent them out to all sections of the Latvian People's Front. So that people can use these "handbooks" to determine for themselves what is legal and what is not.

Currently a new statute on procedures for registration of citizens in need of improved housing and on the housing distribution system in the Latvian SSR is being drafted. The draft of this document should be submitted for public discussion. It would be unrealistic to publish it in newspapers (it is approximately 70 pages long). We think that when the draft is ready it should be printed up and distributed throughout the republic. Then we will accept suggestions, summarize them and turn them over to the commission which is working on the document.

Generally speaking, the people's dissatisfaction is mainly directed at construction workers; people say they work a few years, get an apartment and then leave the construction industry. They are replaced by others, and the cycle repeats itself. But what we need to see here are not the ordinary construction workers, but rather the chaos and disorder which prevail in the construction industry. Why do people not stay on in this field? Because construction workers have terrible working conditions. Why is housing not completed on schedule? Why do we have construction projects which drag on for years and years? Why are there continual problems with the supply of building materials?

[Correspondent] So what you are saying is that we need to eliminate the cause, not just wrestle with the effects.

[Teykmanis] The concept of social justice is indissolubly linked with our level of economic development. In our society everything pertaining to social development is financed in the same way culture is, according to the "leftover" principle. The economy should work for people, not people for the economy. Consider this basic example: as a rule our production facilities are housed in excellent buildings, while people often live in barracks. All the things we have been trying to do are nothing more than stopgap measures. As long as we live in poverty (yes, yes!) social injustice will prevail. In my opinion a realistic minimum living wage, taking both inflation and hidden price increases into account, is approximately 300 rubles [per month] in our republic; that is without luxuries, simply enough to feel like a human being. Yet how much do you make, for example?

[Correspondent] 150 rubles. How about you?

[Teykmanis] I get 190. But if we want to create a state ruled by law then we are going to have to pay judges enough so that they can be truly independent.

[Correspondent] The second most acute problem after housing is the food supply. Here as well we find social injustice everywhere we look.

[Teykmanis] That is when there is not enough for everyone, yet a select few always have enough. Of course, one could blame everything that is wrong on the trade mafia (and it does exist). Workers in the trade sector have low wages but great opportunities. So what happens is that scarce items are distributed before they ever reach the consumer. Of course we need to combat lawbreaking in the trade sector. But in terms of social justice a policy of "stopgap" measures is not the most promising solution. For the causes lie deeper than that...

As for our committee, we are working in conjunction with economists from Latvian State University to develop a concept for the distribution of goods. Perhaps it would be appropriate to introduce rationing cards for scarce items or distribute them at people's places of employment; the specialists will decide that. This sort of concept is definitely needed. For instance, how do we distribute meat products? A portion of them are received by the Ministry of Trade, another portion by the Latvian Consumers' Union. As a result people in rural areas never see meat sold at state prices, even though they are the ones who produce it. Is that fair? Yet no matter how much we improve the trade system we will not change the situation until we produce an adequate quantity of goods.

[Correspondent] What is your position on the various types of special privileges?

[Teykmanis] We all realize that demanding that workers and government ministers live exactly alike is not social justice. I perceive of social justice as a system under which there are no special privileges with regard to the distribution of material benefits unless such privileges are justified by the demands of a person's official duties. A system in which all benefits are distributed without regard to a person's position or rank, in accordance with a person's contribution of labor. We appeal to everyone who knows of cases of unjustified special privileges: report them to us!

[Correspondent] Nonetheless you, as a social organization, are not in a position to solve the problem of social justice...

[Teykmanis] Of course not, because this problem is directly connected with the success of economic reform. Furthermore, in order to protect working people's interests we need a strong and continuously functioning organization with legal rights. I am waiting for the trade unions to finally get moving. Last year could be described as a revolution of words. People are expecting this year to be the year for a land revolution and a trade union revolution. I think that independent trade unions should appear. That is an imperative of our times. We are currently drafting a concept on the development of trade unions. But still our economic successes have a direct bearing on the problem of social justice. In order for there to be something to distribute we first have to produce it.

[Correspondent] Thank you for talking with me.

Social Forecasting Committee Agenda Detailed
18000854 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian
4 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by Olga Avdevich: "Whose Opinion is Public?": "The Latvian People's Front Establishes a Social Forecasting Committee"]

[Text] Unanimous support. Prolonged, tumultuous applause. Unanimous condemnation. Unanimous indignation. Unanimous admiration. In a burst of unanimous enthusiasm. All as one: "I, you, he, she—the whole country..." It was also believed that public opinion in our country was unanimous. Though it would have been more correct to call it uniform. No matter what opinion you and I had on a given issue the decision was made without consulting you or me. No, of course public opinion—real public opinion, not official opinion—was not unanimous. But no one studied it or publicized it. Now the many voices and many faces of public opinion have burst into public forums and into the press. "Letters Not Meant for Publication" in IZVESTIYA, "We Have an Opinion!" in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, "Readers' Turn" in OGONEK... SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH regularly publishes readers' letters under the rubric "Point of View."

But public opinion requires systematic, scientific study. A scientific center for this purpose has been established in Moscow under the direction of Academician Zaslavskaya. In our republic part of this research is done by the Latvian CP Central Committee's Party History Institute. There is also a branch of the Moscow center in Riga.

It mainly studies public opinion on issues which are, so to speak, of an all-union scale. Yet we also need our own permanent scientific center to study public opinion on the most important social and political issues in Latvia. At the present time this role is being played by the Latvian People's Front Social Forecasting Committee. The committee is headed by Peteris Lakis, docent in the Department of Applied Sociology and Social Psychology at Latvian State University.

Sociologists have now developed a questionnaire to be used in clarifying the public's attitudes toward our republic's political leaders. With the aid of this questionnaire they hope to measure the index of confidence in and popularity of Ya. Vagris, V. Sobolev, I. Kezbers, A. Gorbunov, V.-E. Bresis, A. Klautsen and I. Priyeditis. We have grown accustomed to timeworn phrases like "the party and the people are one" and "the people support the government." Do they support it? On what issues? Which social groups? If public opinion indicates a wary attitude toward a certain political leader, that information should give the leader himself something to think about. Perhaps he needs to reconsider his position in some way. Of course, this sort of study cannot claim

absolute objectivity. It should be noted that in some cases people express what is merely a spontaneous emotional judgment. Yet there is still a need to study these things. Scientists abroad have been doing this kind of research since the 1950's. It should be noted that there have been cases of governments being forced to resign after the results of certain polls were published. The committee's questionnaire also allows people to evaluate the political work of A. Pelshe, A. Voss and B. Pugo. Similar questionnaires are also being developed for use in the study of broad public opinion on the issues of an official language, citizenship in the Latvian SSR and the drafting of a new constitution.

In addition to studying public opinion the Social Forecasting Committee also does theoretical work. Its first focus of research is on the dynamics of the social structure.

"Today that is a rather complex task," says Peteris Lakis. "We are completely lacking in scientific research in the field of social statistics. Yet without such research it is impossible to come up with social projections. In this sense Engels was in a better position than we are when he wrote about the condition of the working class in England. England in the mid-19th century had more statistical data on the social structure than we do today. What does the term 'social' actually mean? When we talk about plans for social and economic development we merely calculating a list of indices, relative to the health care system, education, etc. But that is very narrow. When dealing with the provision of social needs like cultural development we still use the 'leftover' system. This is the legacy of Stalinist policy. Social processes are primary. The term 'social' covers everything connected with human beings and their needs. And the interests of human beings are an objective category. We must break down the system of 'people for the economy' and truly, not just in words, make the transition to a system of 'the economy for people.' We want to create a scientific model of our republic's social structure. That is a major task, one which we expect to accomplish in two years."

"The second problem we deal with pertains to the social preconditions for formation of the nomenklatura. Thus far discussion of this issue has been on the emotional level. It is natural that people have acquired a negative attitude toward the bureaucratic apparatus. But we should not forget that no state can exist without an administrative apparatus. Perhaps the only constructive article that has been published concerning the nomenklatura appeared in OGONEK. This subject will require detailed analysis and development of theoretical hypotheses. At the present time the situation is such that our administrative cadres are incompetent in the fields which they administer. Nor as a rule do ideological workers have specialized training in philosophy or history. The system of party schools is outdated. Our leaders should be social managers with a knowledge of psychology, economics and sociology. We have an ossified administrative structure. Consider the Komsomol

Central Committee for example. It has traditionally been divided into departments for working youth, school-age youth, students, young people in science, rural youth, sports, propaganda, cultural and mass events, and so on. There should be fewer people working in the apparatus. And their work should be based on the principle of mobile functional groups designed to deal with today's most timely issues. So the problem is not how to eliminate the administrative apparatus, but rather how best to optimize its operations. And in this regard we are not offering general notions or a partial withdrawal of the party from economic leadership. We need scientific research, a scientific model. We are approaching this problem on the basis of our own republic's experience."

"All these things are problems of primary importance. The question may be asked: why should a group of enthusiasts from a social organization be the ones to deal with them? Even a layman can see that our capabilities are limited. Of course, we could wait for a special state agency to finally be established. Or we can take action now, without waiting. The Latvian People's Front Social Forecasting Committee is a scientific collective comprised of specialists from Latvian State University and the LaSSR Academy of Sciences. All of these specialists have scientific plans in their primary jobs. But those plans are inflexible and are tailored to fit a five-year plan. Therefore these specialists are also studying the burning issues of today by participating on a volunteer basis in the work of the Social Forecasting Committee, though naturally such research should be organized by the state and properly financed. Yet at the same time a sociological research center should remain independent and study public opinion on even the most sensitive issues. Some people may find it unpleasant to know the public's real opinions on certain issues. But that is a requirement of democracy."

Visitors To and From Latvia; The Latest Facts and Procedures

18080045 Riga CINA in Latvian 24 Feb 89 p 4

[Article by Mariss Andersons]

[Text] I think I will not be mistaken, saying that each of us feels the "Iron Curtain" rising ever more quickly above our country's gates. Here and there someone or his relative, friend, or colleague has visited a foreign country, and foreigners have come to visit here. But exactly how many people have crossed the borders this and that way knows best ANTONS BALTACIS, HEAD OF THE LATVIAN SSR INTERIOR MINISTRY'S VISA AND FOREIGNER REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT:

[Baltacis] First I will mention a few facts about last year. In this period 719 people emigrated from our republic for a permanent life elsewhere, mainly to Israel and West Germany. Moreover, by personal invitation trips to

socialist countries were made by 9,840 persons, from which 5,880 were to Poland, but 2,035 to East Germany. It is interesting that 5,019 persons visited acquaintances, but 4,724—relatives.

The situation regarding travel to capitalist countries is different. Here the majority travels to relatives, because acquaintances have been visited by only 977 Latvian inhabitants, however, I am quite convinced that soon this number will double, if not even triple. But in total last year travelers of this category numbered 6,242, and most often—1,372 times—the road has led to the United States, 1,016 times to Canada, and although our country does not have diplomatic relations with Israel, 629 times there.

And about tourists. Last year more than 16,000 people traveled to foreign countries, from which 14,695 visited socialist countries—most often Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, but least often—Yugoslavia; according to our statistics, 1,305 tourists were in capitalist nations, mostly in Scandinavian countries. However, this number is actually greater by 500-600 persons, because until May 1988 these trips were formed only in Moscow.

[CINA] But what kind of tendency does this movement have this year—to decrease or increase?

[Baltacis] Until today (this conversation took place the day before yesterday—M.A. note) by private invitation to both socialist and capitalist nations have traveled already four times more people than in the last two full months, respectively 1,552 and 1,389 persons. And also visitors here are three-and-a-half times more—from socialist nations 4,444 people, from capitalist—documents have been submitted on 256 foreign citizens.

[CINA] It is therefore also beneficial to find out how many foreigners visited us last year.

[Baltacis] Please. Last year Latvia was visited by more than 100,000 foreigners. Among them were 68,659 tourists. From socialist countries by personal invitation came 13,340 persons, of which 11,295 were Polish citizens, and from the total, 8,000 visitors have relative ties to the republic.

Less analogous visitors came from capitalist nations—843, of which 766 visited relatives. However that is also easily explainable, because in Latvia many places, observing the nation's security interests, are closed to these nations' citizens.

[CINA] In that case, in my opinion it would be useful to once more remind everyone of those places where a "capitalist" may place his foot. And, placing this question, the hope remains that in the future the number of such places will increase.

[Baltacis] From cities and the larger town-villages there is Riga, Jurmala, Ventspils, Ogre, Salaspils, Ikskile, Sigulda and Saulkrasti, from the rayons, beginning with April 1988—the Aluksne, Valka, Valmiera, Limbazi, un Cesis rayons, and as of last May fully "opened" is also the international highway—Route 12: Brest-Minsk-Vilnius- (through Bauska)-Riga-Tallinn. And along with that, quite naturally, the influx of auto-tourists has grown. But about the second thing—your hopes are not in vain.

[CINA] And finally, what about this—which most important documents are necessary for the republic's inhabitants, in order to emigrate to a foreign country?

[Baltacis] If for permanent residence, then one can emigrate only to close relatives with the aim of family unification. Here the most important document is a concrete summoners' official and accordingly strictly-designed document with the respective residence nation's confirmed guarantees that the arrival will be secured with living space, as well as materially. By the way, United States' security agencies additionally require a few supplemental notices and usually give their answer only after a year. However, not any less important and obligatory is to receive a written, notarially-confirmed agreement from both parents about the children's emigration. If the parents have died, a death certificate is necessary.

Similarly, it is not permitted to separate a family—either both married individuals leave, or both stay home; moreover, from age 14 the child's written agreement to emigration is required. Furthermore, if the couple has divorced and there are minors, then the other parent's agreement is definitely required. And here I must say that occasionally the one staying home uses blackmail in such a situation.

Moreover, those persons connected to various state secrets that are currently still in force are also not permitted to emigrate.

If one is traveling to capitalist nations by invitation for a period of time, then the corresponding form can be filled out in 15 minutes, only it must be confirmed at the place of employment. Even simpler is the document preparation for a trip to socialist countries. Here I will only remind you of the most often tolerated mistake of would-be travelers—if in the last two years you have changed your place of employment several times, then we require from all places a confirmation that you are not a possessor and holder of state security or other essential state secrets.

[CINA] Thank you for the information, and still I am convinced that in this regard many supplemental questions could arise, therefore we will ask you to soon (in March or April) prepare a special article for CINA on this topic.

But for the time being I remind readers of the visa and foreigner registration department's address: 9 A. Barbiss Street, Riga.

Interview With New Baltic Military Commander
18080044 Riga CINA in Latvian 23 Feb 89 p 1

[Article by B. Sebjakins, LATINFORM correspondent]

[Text] Many people already know that a new armed forces commander has assumed command of the Baltic military district, awarded the Order of the Red Banner. It turns out that the population is not indifferent to the type of person who is assuming this post. That is by no means an idle interest. In the context of current events, the army and the problems associated with it have begun to interest a wide population. In this regard I got the chance to meet with the new commander—General Lieutenant FJODORS KUZMINS. At the entrance to the headquarters a soldier of large build, having looked at my application, with a characteristic Latvian accent said, "Go in, you are already expected!" In the large office I did not detect any major changes. Only in place of the usual document folders, on the commander's desk was a pile of books: Zanis Griva, Alberts Bels, Zigmonds Skujins... Having introduced myself, I asked: In the first days after assuming your new post, will you really have time for fiction?

[Kuzmins] But how else can you get to know a people's soul, if not through its fiction? (the general answered with a counter-question) Of course, I am well acquainted with the works of Vilis Lacis, have also read Grivs, but, I must say, I am looking at other authors' works for the first time—until now I knew only Andris Kolbergs' detective stories. Authors unfamiliar to me I read with interest, in a day I read 30-40 pages. Just as intensively I am "burrowing" into a Russian-Latvian conversational dictionary.

[CINA] Can we understand that you mean to work here for a long time?

[Kuzmins] Honestly speaking, in December the thought of leaving Leningrad, where I was the military district commanding officer's first deputy, for someplace else had not even crossed my mind. Even more so because my wife is a native of Leningrad, she survived the blockade, and both our sons were also born there. And then suddenly—nomination to a new post. This is already the seventeenth move for Maija (F. Kuzmin's spouse) and me. For now I will at least try to become general commanding officer. In the end it is only a job.

[CINA] But it is also loyalty and recognition of your professional qualities...

[Kuzmins] That is true. Both as a Communist, and as a professional soldier, I will do everything to fully carry out the assignments entrusted to me. Our district is not one of the usual ones, in its time it was even called a "special" one. The main distinguishing feature—it is a

border military district. The rich traditions of the Baltic military district are also known to me. In several periods its commanders have been such famous leaders as General Colonel A. Loktionovs, Marshal of the Soviet Union I. Bagramjans, Army Generals P. Batovs, I. Gusakovskis, A. Gorbatovs, G. Hetagurovs, V. Govorovs, A. Majorovs, and others. I will strive to work so that the good traditions begun before me will successfully develop further.

[CINA] I would like to hear something about the first impressions you have gained in Latvia.

[Kuzmins] My arrival here coincided with the moment when the 70th anniversary of the declaration of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic was being celebrated. I became the guest of the celebration dedicated to this anniversary. I have been able to become acquainted with the leadership of all three Baltic Soviet republics.

I have also visited several district armed forces units and groups and military enterprises. A great impression was left on me by a call on the motorized infantry regiment named after the Latvian Red Riflemen. It is pleasing that this regiment upon which medals have been bestowed honors the battle and fighting traditions of the Lenin Guard. I consider it correct that the regiment is being completed, by including in it the best new recruits from Latvia, along with representatives of other nationalities. I likewise agree with the thoughts recently expressed in the press, that the among the officers there could be more born in Latvia.

I must say that, learning military history in a Suvorov school, later at the university and academy, I have gotten to know well the Latvian investment in the creation and development of the Soviet Armed Forces. Janis Fabriciuss is especially close to me. At one time I was lucky enough to command the same division he had once led into battle. In the Leningrad military district under my care was the training regiment formed by Janis Fabriciuss. By the way, this regiment's war journey ended with participation in the destruction of the Kurzeme formation by the fascist army. I consider it worthwhile to send boys from Fabriciuss' homeland to serve in this division.

[CINA] There have already been attempts to organize such a special selection, but each time they have run into resource barriers...

[Kuzmins] Then I myself must assume the solution of this question.

[CINA] Latvia's inhabitants have often expressed dissatisfaction with the pollution of the environment to the military district. Is this problem familiar to you?

[Kuzmins] Of course, the first thing I got to work on, having assumed the commanding post, was becoming familiar with the work perspective of the district's military council. Let us say that I studied the specially-prepared plan for environmental protection measures. Without even getting into the essence of separate details, I must confess that there are many complications here, but the main thing—debts that we must repay the environment, society and people. As a commander, citizen and now too an inhabitant of Latvia, its capital Riga, I fully recognize my personal responsibility for the activation of efforts towards the solution of this problem. From each person subordinated to me I can ask that he fulfill necessary environmental protection work. At the same time it was good to find out that in many district garrisons purification systems are being built. They will naturally be also utilized by civilians.

[CINA] What other problems, in your opinion, should first be solved?

[Kuzmins] I arrived on January 13, but I know what was asked and answered in the translated television program "Questions for Soldiers" before then. The first thing that is noticeable is the very acute housing problem. As I established, the investment of the district army's builders in its solution is noticeable. In the last three years in Latvia they have built around 166 thousand square meters of living space. Within the last year they have built 20 social and cultural objects—schools, kindergartens, medical establishments. Moreover, not only in Riga. The assumed tempo is not bad. However, now it does not satisfy us any more. This year we plan to build 39 residential buildings. And, it seems, that is not the limit of our possibilities. In addition I wish to stress that not only soldiers live in the houses built by army builders. They also house civilians working in the Soviet Army and even people that have no relation to the army: we hand a portion of the apartments over to the local authorities.

With each year the participation of the military district in the realization of the Party program grows. Our unit and subunit subsidiary plots produce a fair amount of meat products: 15 kilograms of meat per had, as we say, "the existing supply." So that would be more clear I will add that for three months of the year, our army receives not a kilogram of meat for the feeding of personnel.

We have also constructed many greenhouses. They will create the opportunity to supply the army kitchens 13 kilograms of greens and vegetables for each soldier per year. And how many times have soldiers not gone to the kolkhoz and state farm fields to help peasants sooner bring in the harvest!

Much has accumulated that it was earlier accepted to view as the army's internal problems, but now wide strata of society are interested in them. And when the people's sharp vision notices disorder in the army, it

immediately evokes well-founded accusations. We must carefully hear it all and together with civilian comrades find the optimal ways to overcome existing deficiencies.

[CINA] I agree. But for a start please tell us more about yourself!

[Kuzmins] There is not much to say. I was born in 1937 near Astrakhan into the sadly famous collective farmer family. In the first days of the war my father freely went to the front and perished. At the age of thirteen I entered the Orjonikidze Suvorov School. Later I studied at the S. Kirov Leningrad Highest Commanding Officer School, awarded two Red Banner medals. Having become an officer, I commanded several army subunits, units and sections. Twenty years ago I finished the M. Frunze Military Academy, after that also the general staff military academy.

I have two sons: one is already an officer, but the other is as of yet still a schoolboy. My wife has an education in philology, let us hope that in Riga she will be able to work in a library of her favorite occupation.

[CINA] You, Comrade Kuzmins, wanted to become a soldier already since childhood. What do you think about the problems regarding the service of youths in the army?

[Kuzmins] Fundamentally my thoughts coincide with what is written in the Constitution—service in the Armed Forces is each Soviet citizen's honorable and sacred duty. But I completely agree with society's worries about the absurdities that exist in the organization of elementary military instruction and the military preparation of students. It is gratifying that now these are being overcome. For example, the study program in university military departments is being decreased by 100 class hours and students' stays in military camps by up to one month. After completion of their studies, graduates of universities where there are no military departments will serve according to their knowledge: in sergeant posts and in close profile with their specialty.

It is known to me that currently a new question is being proposed about the Latvian boys' place of service. I think that the district military council will duly evaluate their lofty efforts to serve in those parts, under whose flags their fathers and grandfathers fought, and to continue the honored fighting traditions of the older generations.

[CINA] The Soviet Union's new initiative—to unilaterally decrease its Armed Forces—has thrilled the entire world. What is your personal attitude towards these proposals?

[Kuzmins] Lately we soldiers are often asked this question. Occasionally even with almost a challenge: look, even you will have to be frightened—we are reducing the

armed forces. Immediately I want to say that the soldier's garb does not prevent me, nor the majority of my colleagues, from understanding that the time has come to break the old stereotypes in the sphere of international relations and armament. We understand how deep is the necessity to bring human qualities to the foreground. Like any rationally-thinking person, I too support the already announced Armed Forces reduction and the next steps in this direction. The main thing is that this be done in the interests of peace and security. The fact that in these conditions, we, soldiers, will have a double load is, of course, another question. We must raise the quality of service in order to guarantee, as up until now, the security of our country, however now in already new conditions of sufficient defense.

Aspects of Lithuanian Economic Independence Analyzed

18000935 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
27 Mar 89 p 2

[Interview with Genrikas Yatskyavichyus, first deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR State Planning Committee and Lithuanian SSR minister, conducted by ELTA correspondents R. Chesna and V. Gudus: "Economic Sovereignty: A Difficult and Long Path"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Genrikas Yatskyavichyus, first deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR State Planning Committee and Lithuanian SSR minister, answers the questions of ELTA correspondents.

[Correspondents] As of 1 January 1990 the republic will start to operate under the conditions of economic autonomy. How is the preparation for that going?

[Yatskyavichyus] To hear the speeches by some candidates for USSR people's deputy, you might reach the conclusion that it will not be difficult for the republic to start operating under the conditions of cost accounting. Some people think that it is enough simply to have good intentions, and everything will be resolved of its own accord. The store shelves will fill up, many improved solutions will turn up in the economy, and we will start to live much better. However, in reality it is a long and hard path.

So far the republic has managed only one-tenth of the total economy located on its territory. We are trying to already manage approximately 70 percent this year.

What questions must be resolved? They can be divided into several groups. First, there are questions connected with the sphere of the republic's economic operations—here the main thing is to take enterprises and organizations that are presently union and union-republic subordination, as well as public organizations, and place them under republic control. In the second place, there are finances, credits, and price setting: it is necessary to

prepare normative rates for the formation of the republic's state budget, and procedures for regulating the circulation of money. The third group of questions entails the planning of economic and social development. And finally, there are the questions of foreign economic activities: how to create a foreign-currency fund, how the cooperatives will participate in this, and how we will start to develop border and coastal trade.

What has been done and is being done in order for us to succeed in solving all these problems in time? I must say that matters in the country have started to move forward since the publication of the draft General Principles for Restructuring the Management of the Economy and the Social Sphere in the Union Republics With the Expansion of Their Sovereign Rights, Self-Government, and Self-Financing. The USSR State Planning Committee and the union ministries and departments have begun work along these lines.

[Correspondents] And what have we ourselves done in the republic?

[Yatskyavichyus] The Lithuanian SSR State Planning Committee has drawn up lists of enterprises that must be transferred from union subordination to republic subordination. Let me remind you that the primary ones on that list are those that produce consumer goods.

In Moscow and Vilnius consultations have already been held on how to establish interbranch state enterprises in the republic. One such prospective association is the household-appliance association that is being formed by Banga, Ekranas and other enterprises. Although this idea had been approved, just recently, unfortunately, letters were received from the union ministers ordering us to wait. For the time being we will wait. In addition to that association, we are thinking about setting up two others. They are a machine-tool association and a Litmashiny [Lithuanian Machinery] Association.

The Lithuanian SSR State Planning Committee has analyzed and presented to the Council of Ministers proposals as to which enterprises under union subordination should be retooled to produce consumer goods. These proposals have been sent to Moscow. For example, we want for the Lithuanian Neris Production Association to produce farm implements and various types of small machinery needed in peasant farming operations. And such large enterprises in the republic as Ekranas and others should produce computers; the Alytus Machinery Plant should produce home washing machines, and so forth.

The USSR State Planning Committee's Capital Investments Department is conducting an analysis of how normative rates for capital construction should be determined in the future, starting next year. Up until now we have received about half of all capital investments on a centrally allocated basis, and now this proportion will be substantially reduced—it will have to come from the

republic budget. Right now we are making these calculations, and next week we will confer in Moscow on what these normative rates should be.

Along with the Lithuanian SSR State Planning Committee, the republic Ministry of Finance has been doing a great deal of work. It has taken an active part in preparing proposals for determining normative rates in the union budget. Next week they will be discussed in Moscow. Analysis is also being made of how normative rates in the local budget will be determined in the future. That is very important; after all, the funds we have will determine how well we live.

The principles for planning capital construction have been worked out. Just recently a conference was held in Vilnius at which, in a joint action with representatives from the Estonian and Latvian state planning committees, a document was adopted on the further formation of capital construction plans. The materials from the conference have been presented for discussion to the USSR State Planning Committee and USSR State Committee for Construction Affairs.

[Correspondents] Why so much coordination, not so much locally, as in Moscow?

[Yatskyavichyus] Because very many questions can be resolved only in union organizations. And, of course, in accordance with documents of the USSR Council of Ministers.

On this occasion I would like to say that our specialists have prepared a draft decree of the USSR Council of Ministers on the restructuring of our republic's economic and social sphere on the basis of self-government and self-financing. Estonia and Latvia have presented analogous drafts. Next week the questions of republic autonomy, along with the drafts, will be discussed at a round table in the USSR State Planning Committee with the participation of representatives from these republics.

We are very much anticipating the appearance of a union document. But so far there is none; things are moving slowly in Moscow; and we cannot seriously confer with a single ministry or department. There can be no confrontation with the center here. We should work calmly and in an intelligent and thoughtful fashion with the union ministries.

[Correspondents] Now, could you possibly speak a little more broadly about the questions of the republic's self-government.

[Yatskyavichyus] Interdepartmental commissions of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers have worked out general principles pertaining to our republic's operation under the conditions of autonomy. Today the questions of economic planning, the management of industry and the agroindustrial complex, social questions, cultural

questions and the questions of city and rayon self-government have already been analyzed. A republic commission on the improvement of management, planning and the economic mechanism will soon discuss the proposals.

Several days ago the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers approved a plan of measures in which the republic ministries, committees and departments are instructed to formulate, within a set time, principles for their activities under the conditions of autonomy. Next week the proposals of the republic ministries of transport, municipal services, communications, consumer services, trade, and labor and social questions, and of the Lithuanian Union of Consumer Societies will be examined in the State Planning Committee. All this must be coordinated with the local soviets. There are many proposals, some of which are interesting.

Last week the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers granted nondepartmental status to the Neringa Production Association. Applications of the Littara Production Association and other enterprises to be granted such status are being considered.

Without waiting for any instructions, our republic, in drawing up its plan for next year, introduced new principles for determining the construction of residential buildings. Totally new decisions have been adopted. For example, final amounts of construction for residential buildings are set not by the State Planning Committee, and not by the ministries, but by the city and rayon soviets. Next year no materials and funds will be centrally allocated. There will be no limits. Whoever has the money and materials and finds the builders will be included in the plan, which becomes the state plan. In drawing up plans for the construction of social and cultural facilities, we will operate according to that principle in the future, as well.

There are many problems connected with the republic's agriculture. Farmers raised many serious questions from the rostrum at their congress. We are prepared to resolve them in such a way as to satisfy the farmers' needs to the utmost. Departments of the republic State Planning Committee, together with officials of the State Agroindustrial Committee, are developing proposals on these matters.

[Correspondents] It would be interesting to know how things are going with the search for ways to economic sovereignty in our neighboring republics.

[Yatskyavichyus] With respect to the Baltic republics, it is hard to say who has broken out ahead and who is lagging behind. As I have already mentioned, we are working together with the Latvians and Estonians on the questions of determining construction. At a symposium held in Vilnius other problems of economic autonomy were also analyzed jointly. Granted, on some issues we

are ahead of the Estonians—for example, in the formation of the construction complex. On the other hand, it is easier for them, since Estonia's construction program is not being increased.

[Correspondents] The republic's inhabitants are proposing that once we are independent we do less construction of industrial facilities and build more apartments.

[Yatskyavichyus] That sounds fine. However, there are almost no industrial construction projects that can be cut back. Industrial construction makes up about 30 percent of the program of organizations of the Lithuanian SSR State Committee for Construction Affairs. And that 30 percent consists mainly of environmental-protection facilities and facilities for helping to solve social and consumer-service problems. We are building very few new industrial facilities. For example, in Klaipeda we will build a shop for the processing of scrap paper. It will eliminate a pulp-digesting shop at the Klaipeda Pulp and Cardboard Combine that is polluting our Courland Lagoon.

The union ministry is trying to expand the Nuklon Plant in Siauliai, and we are opposing that. Until environmental questions are resolved there, we will not expand construction.

Baltic's Relevance to Moldavia Assessed
18000985 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 19 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by A. Litsetskiy, doctor of historical sciences, professor, head of the USSR History Department, Kishinev Order of the Red Banner of Labor State University imeni V. I. Lenin, member of the All-Union Interdepartmental Scientific Council on Contemporary National Processes, under the Presidium of USSR Academy of Sciences: "Difficult Meditations"]

[Text] The events that have been developing in the interethnic sphere in the life of Soviet society are acute, contradictory, and headlong. The national factor has become practically the key problem of perestroyka. On its cutting edge are problems of the state status and functioning of languages. But this is only the tip of the iceberg.

The sharp discussed that began in the spring of last year concerning language have moved this question into first place among all the problems of interethnic relations. Since the summer, thanks to the escalation on this basis of the interethnic tension, Moldavia has begun to be drawn into the channel that was laid by the Baltic republics. Meanwhile it is easy to note that no buoys have been set up in that channel and there are no pilots. It is easy to imagine where the present-day informal "captains" can take the republic's ship without any pilots. To what extent is the experience of the Baltic republics applicable under our conditions?

It is well known that the law and ukase concerning linguistic status have been perceived by a part of the population as discriminatory, as violating elementary human rights, and as being directed at crowding out "foreign speakers" and achieving ethnic purity. In addition, they intensify and feed the Baltic separatism. The interethnic situation has become greatly aggravated. Mass actions, including strikes in which hundreds of thousands of persons participate, have become part of the practice of sociopolitical life...

The linguistic situation in Moldavia differs substantially from the situation that has developed in other republics. The question of giving the Moldavian language the status of a state language has fused together with two other questions: the identification of the Moldavian (literary) language with the Romanian language, and the change-over from the Cyrillic alphabet, which has served the Moldavian writing system for more than six centuries, since the beginning of the formation of the Moldavian state, to the Latin alphabet (that is, to the Romanian alphabet, which is more complicated, with numerous diacritical marks). Thus, we are dealing with the strategic reorientation not only of linguistic policy.

Without a doubt, the Moldavian language needs state protection (as do, incidentally, other languages that function on the territory of the republic). It is necessary to expand its social functions and its sphere of application, and to improve its quality fundamentally. However, the ways that are being proposed to achieve this goal are by no means leading us to the Temple.

Let us be fair: the legislative drafts that have been proposed by the Presidium differ from the Baltic ones by the attempt to take into consideration the interests of the republic's Russian-speaking population, and by their greater elasticity and "liberal nature." It is possibly for precisely this reason that the drafts have evoked such a stormy negative reaction, which is also confirmed by the first responses in the press...

USSR people's deputy, writer D. Matkovski, in the MOLDOVA SOCHIALISTE newspaper, called the Presidium's drafts a blow to the head, a model of genuine Moldavian "mankurtizm," illegality, and Stalinism; he is opposed to the guarantees of the functioning of the Russian language, which has been recognized as the language of communication among nationalities, and is opposed to its introduction as such forcibly; he assumes that this is an insult to the republic's indigenous population, etc.

The Bakulovski family, in the NARODNOYE OBRAZOVANIYE newspaper, expresses the opinion that the legislative drafts are unacceptable, that they debase the Moldavian nation and its language; they immediately propose refining Article 70.1 of the MSSR Constitution simply by the amendment to the effect that the Moldavian (Romanian) language is the state language of MSSR.

However, there are also opposing opinions.

USSR people's deputy N. Kostishin, fitter and assembly worker at the Pribor Plant in Bendery, responding to questions asked by a SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA correspondent, replied that the proposed law will lead to the country's disintegration into "feudal principalities," and that the extremists, in unmasking the Stalinist regime, are, essentially speaking, acting in a Stalinist manner, demonstrating complete intolerance of persons with opposite opinions. V. Lesnichenko, engineer at the PShO imeni 40-letiya VLKSM in Tiraspol, recommends adopting a law concerning two state languages: Moldavian and Russian. Certain authors in MOLODEZH MOLDAVIA consider the drafts to be by no means well-developed and incapable of sustaining even superficial criticism.

Yes, the drafts of the laws are still crude and contradictory and contain a lot of places that are incompletely written or vague, and therefore there will undoubtedly be a very large number of corrections. All this is the result of the excessive haste that developed under the onslaught of extremism, and the desire as quickly as possible to please the impatient and the intolerant.

A more serious question is the question of why this range of diametrically opposed evaluations has been revealed immediately? Because, I assume, the tendency that was revealed last summer—the tendency toward the splitting of society on the basis of nationality—became a well-established and obvious factor by the autumn. That was also promoted by several factors—the detrimental zig-zags in linguistic policy, the crisis of the system of administrative by official fiat, the loss of control over the situation, and a number of other factors.

When determining linguistic policy, one should not abstract oneself from the interethnic relations that have become sharply aggravated in the republic, relations that are determined by the aggressive, ultimatum-oriented, irreconcilable nature of the demands, a nature that contradicts the fundamental interests not only of the Russian-speaking population, but also of the larger number of speakers of Moldavian who reside on the territory of the MSSR and outside its borders.

The change in the priority of the values of the national sphere in the life of society, and of the national psychological goals (with a 180-degree turn), which are a unique indicator of the attitude toward the international (joint habitation, joint instruction, interethnic marriages, etc.) is not only acute and of a broad scale, but also a protracted process.

The linguistic policy, if it is oriented not toward capitulation to group diktat, but the viability, must evolve from the real-life situation and must take into consideration the interests of all the republic's national groups on the basis of principles that are firmly established in the

USSR Constitution and the Human Rights Declaration—the principles of the complete equality of nations and languages—and on putting the balance of interests, that is, the optimum, into conformity with the real and completely equal guarantees. It has not proven possible to achieve this balance in the drafts of the laws.

The draft of the first law fails to a large extent to satisfy me by virtue of the following:

1. It was based on the distortion in the republic press of the basis of ideological theory and principle that was developed by V. I. Lenin in his concept of the complete equality of languages and his negative position with respect to a state language in a multinational country (republic), which found their substantiation in a number of prerevolutionary fundamental works that were incorporated both in the party's first Program and its second Program, as well as in the new edition of the CPSU Program that was adopted by the party's 27th Congress.

The article that is most typical in this respect is "Why Moldavians Need... the Moldavian Language," which was written by N. Matkash, secretary of the Interdepartmental Commission, and I. Dumenyuk, secretary of the commissions Third Section. We read, "Long before the revolution, V. I. Lenin, foreseeing the unification on voluntary principles of various sovereign states and peoples into a single Soviet federation and fraternal family of peoples, spoke out against the assigning of the status of a state language not to any language, but only to the language of communication among nationalities in the entire federal state."

V. I. Lenin did not state anything of the kind, and he could not do so, because at that time he was a staunch opponent of the federal form of the state system of the future socialist Russia. Among such forms of state system as the confederation, federation, and unitary state, he, following Marx and Engels, gave the preference to the large-scale, centralized unitary state that Russia was. It was precisely that kind of state that he viewed as a tremendous historic step forward from the fractionation of the Middle Ages, and he felt that there was no path other than this to socialism, and there could be none. V. I. Lenin's very first instructions concerning the possibility of creating a federation in the future Russia were made in May-June 1917.

There is something else. Prior to the revolution, the Russian language was not a language of communication among nationalities. It was only a middleman-language. In "Critical Notes on the National Question," V. I. Lenin states quite definitely, "**The national program of the workers' democracy is: absolutely no privileges either to one nation or to one language.**" (Emphasis added here and subsequently.)

2. V. I. Lenin's requirements that were dictated in December 1922 in the work "The Question of Nationalities or the Formation of Autonomous Entities"—the

requirements concerning the introduction of the strictest rules relative to the use of national languages in multinational republics and the especially careful checking of those rules, and concerning the need for a detailed code—also seemed to the reader to be wrongly interpreted as the recognition by Lenin in the union republics of the need for the status of state languages. The state status of languages and Lenin's previously quoted principles **are not identical**. "The strictest rules" are not a law governing the state status of a language. And the term "code" was used by Lenin either as a metaphor, or as a moral or legal concept of the type of our present-day laws and legislative drafts concerning the functioning of languages. Therefore I. Mikhaylyuk's attempt ("View of the Problem," SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA, 9 April 1989) to represent this work by V. I. Lenin as the substantiation of the need to give the Moldavian language the status of a state language seems to me to be insufficiently substantiated and incorrect. In any case, this question needs additional scientific research.

3. The authors of the legislative drafts have not demonstrated the ability to reach the positions of the course that has been proclaimed by the party—the course aimed at a new way of thinking and at an alternative approach to considering the problems that arise with a taking into consideration of the balance of interests. The recommendations concerning two state languages were ignored.

4. No consideration was taken of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, or the final documents of the Vienna meeting.

5. The authors of the legislative drafts refused to take into consideration both the previous Soviet experience (four state languages in Belorussia), and the present (three state languages in Abkhazia, the action taken by Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, and the Ukraine to proclaim two state languages), as well as the worldwide experience in resolving this problem (Finland, Switzerland, India, Belgium, Canada). Who has installed an insurmountable iron curtain on the path to this?

The "meat" of the second legislative draft is Article 35. Therefore we shall dwell specifically on that article.

The indication in parentheses that the list of positions, officials, and specialists for whom the knowledge of the languages indicated in the article (primarily Moldavian, that is, Romanian in the Romanian alphabet) is determined by legislation of the USSR, is misleading, since such a law is nonexistent. In addition, the deadlines for the implementation of this article are not indicated. In general, can there be any serious raising of the question of the discussion of the Law without the publication of the indicated list?

Article 35 contradicts the Leninist principles of the selection and placement of cadres. It is obvious that when that article is implemented the advantage will be given not to the most competent administrators and

specialists, but to the persons who are fluent in the state language. Thus, the article is aimed at eliminating from active work the highly qualified workers who belong to the Russian-speaking population and at crowding them out of the republic. Moreover, the persons who are primarily affected here are the persons in the engineer-technical, natural-science, and social-humanities intelligentsia, as well as the skilled members of the state apparatus and the apparatus of public organizations and public-health institutions.

The course that evolves from the article means the restoration of a policy that has had its day and that has exhausted its possibilities—the policy of the "indigenization" of the apparatus.

The elimination of people from the positions that they occupy will also affect a definite number of the administrative cadres and specialists of Moldavian nationality who, within the next few years and decades, by virtue of number of reasons, including the conditions that exist today (or, rather, the complete lack of opportunities for training), will not be able to rise to the perfect knowledge of the literary Romanian language.

The article sets up a roadblock to the exchange of cadres among republics, and this contradicts the course of the 27th CPSU Congress.

The immediate sociopolitical consequence of the implementation of this article will be not only the preservation, but also the expansion and reinforcement of the positions of the bureaucracy, but now only the purely Moldavian national bureaucracy.

I persistently recommend to the readers and to everyone who is participating in the elaboration of the legislative drafts to refer to the "Draft of the Law Concerning the Equal Rights of Nations and the Protection of the Rights of National Minorities." That document was written by V. I. Lenin in 1914 for submittal to the 4th State Duma. However, that draft was never submitted to the Duma. It was published for the first time in Lenin collection XXX in 1937. Now it is obvious to everyone that the ideas of Lenin that were contained in that document could not be implemented at that time. But their time has now come.

From the point of view of the question being considered, a principle that is of special importance is the one that was formulated here by V. I. Lenin concerning the unconditionally equal rights of all the nations in a state; concerning the inadmissibility and the unconstitutional nature of absolutely all privileges provided to one of the nations or to one of the languages; concerning the fact that "every minority of a different nationality has the right to demand the unconditional protection of the rights of its language on the basis of the principle of equal rights"; and that measures that violate the equal rights of the languages spoken by the national minorities in all

areas of their life "are deemed to be invalid and are subject to repeal in response to a protest that can be made by any citizen of the state, irrespective of his place of residence."

A fundamental important criterion is the one that was identified by him—the criterion that "localities are deemed to be localities with nonhomogeneous national makeup of the population if, in those localities, the minority of the population in the national minority reaches 5 percent of the population," as well as the principle of the proportional representation of the national minorities in all the self-governing units of the state and the proportionality of the expenses to meet cultural and educational needs in conformity with the share of the national minorities in the population, and the recognition as being invalid and the repeal of any violations in this sphere in response to a protest by any citizen, also irrespective of his place of residence.

As one can see, this is the formulation of the principles that are leading to a state that is called, in modern scientific terminology the consensus (from the Latin, "consensus," agreement, unanimity—the overall agreement on moot questions that is reached by the participants in international conferences and negotiations). So, with the submitted legislative drafts operate in the Leninist direction if they prove to be adopted?

What, then, will happen to the Leninist concept? One should not demand from V. I. Lenin the answers to all the questions at arise at the present-day stage. Many decades have passed since that time. The process of giving to the languages of nations that have given their name to a particular national state the status of a state language is a reality. One should not disrupt that. It will be perceived as an attack on the national-democratic rights of the nations. Lenin himself said that if an idea does not agree with life, then it is necessary to "bend the idea." What is important for us in this instance is not so much the concretely historical evaluation, as V. I. Lenin's method of approaching the resolution of the vitally important problems caused by life. Therefore, in the process that has begun it is necessary to arrive at the constitutional decreeing in the union republics of two or more (depending upon the specific conditions) state languages.

The process that is occurring in the Union of giving [the status of state language] to the languages of the nations that have given their name to the appropriate republics has another side. It turns out that the subjects of federation will have one or two state languages, but the union state itself will prove to be without such. This situation seems to me to be completely absurd. And there are already quite a few confirmations of the absurdity. I shall recall only one of them. PRAVDA has described how a scientific-research institute in Uzbekistan received an important paper from Tallinn that had been written in Estonian. Without philosophizing about the situation, the people sent an answer in Uzbek to Estonia. The item

gives its due to ingenuity. But for me this is not an ingenious answer. Rather, it is the forerunner of tragic tendencies. It is as though the Biblical myth of the Tower of Babylon [sic] is taking on features of threatening reality. Perestroika can be overtaken by the same fate that overtook the real tower in Babylon.

By virtue of this fact, the only thing that can become a real guarantee of the interests of the Russian-speaking population (I have in mind the Russians, Ukrainians, Gagauzy, Bulgarians, and others—everyone for whom the Russian language is vitally necessary) is the giving of the same status to the Russian language as to the Moldavian, with this being done simultaneously and on a par with it. I emphasize that this kind of approach does not mean either the return to the previous situation or the preservation of the current status quo. The Moldavian language is achieving in the real situation the status of a state language, and there is also a real expansion of the sphere of its functioning. All this creates the prerequisites that are necessary for resolving the problems of improving its quality.

Proceeding from everything that has been stated, I propose the formulating of an alternative draft of the Law governing the status of the state languages of MSSR, as follows:

"For purposes of improving the national-linguistic and interethnic relations on the territory of Moldavian SSR, guaranteeing the state protection of the Moldavian language in the form of giving it the status of a state language, providing real and equal guarantees of the rights of the Russian-speaking population, and the free use and development of the languages of other nations, the MSSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

"Amending the Constitution (Basic Law) of Moldavian SSR by Article 70.1, with the following content:

"Article 70.1. The state languages of Moldavian SSR are the Moldavian language and the language of communication among the nationalities and nations of the USSR—the Russian language.

"In Moldavian SSR there is a guarantee of the functioning of the languages of the Gagauz nationality, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Yiddish, Romany (in spoken form) and the languages of the other nationalities that are residing in a compact manner on the territory of Moldavian SSR.

"The procedure of the functioning of languages on the territory of Moldavian SSR is established by the legislation of the USSR and Moldavian SSR."

Naturally, the Law governing the functioning of languages must be reworked as applicable to what has previously been stated. This work should be made the responsibility of an independent group of specialists.

I assume that this approach to resolving the problem of getting out of the deepening crisis will be acceptable for the entire non-Moldavian population of the republic, and also for a considerable part, or perhaps even the greater part, of the Moldavians.

In addition, it would seem to be desirable to make the following recommendations:

1. The prolongation of the discussion of the proposed legislative drafts by three months, in order to decide their fate after the completion of the work by the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on interethnic questions.
2. Real and equal guarantees of discussion in the press and on the radio and television of all the alternative legislative drafts.
3. Referendum of the indigenous speakers of the Moldavian language on the question of converting to the Latin alphabet, that is, to the Romanian alphabet.
4. On the question of giving a language (languages) the status of a state language, a referendum of all the inhabitants of the republic.
5. Bicameral systems of the Moldavian republic parliament (Council of Republics and Council of Nationalities).
6. Raising before the union agencies of the question of giving to the language of communication among nationalities the status of a state language.
7. Convoking of a congress of the peoples of Moldavia in order to discuss the political situation in the republic.
8. Convoking of a special congress of the KPM [Moldavian Communist Party] to deal with the question of the normalization of interethnic relations.

By expressing my judgments, I lay no claim to having uttered the truth, but only to having searched for it. Nor do I lay claim to having discovered a panacea, but only to having asked questions and having made recommendations for discussion by the entire world. I shall not say that I am not beset by doubts or that I am insured against errors. No one possesses an indulgence on this score. The year 1988 has given us a crisis in the entire system of interethnic relations in the USSR. The development of events during the current year reinforce and deepen that conclusion. The crisis has taken on nationwide scope and is not only of a critical, but also a profound, protracted nature.

The dramatic and complicated nature of the situation lies in the fact that neither science nor politics today has at its disposal a concept for getting out of the crisis situation. Only the recent months give us certain conceptual grains. But they have also demonstrated the existence of dead-end situations, including those of a

constitutional nature. The concept being developed by the party will be submitted at a special Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Whether those grains will send out viable shoots, and whether the expected concept will satisfy the increasingly polarized social forces of the national and interethnic movements that have arisen, will be proven in the near future.

For the time being, following after V. I. Lenin, we shall say: one cannot resolve specific (linguistic) questions unless one has an idea of how to resolve problems of a more general order, of which these questions are components. One cannot remove even entirely a system of interethnic relations from the context of all the problems of perestroika which are the initial, base ones for normalizing the former. It is necessary to admit: we not only do not have the overall concept that was mentioned previously. We also do not have a partial concept of the state language. Moreover: we do not even have a scientific definition of a state language. Is it reasonable to adopt, in such a situation, laws governing the state status of a language without knowing what that is? However, it is also a reality that appeals to reason, restraint, careful consideration have not been working. It is also a reality that ultimatum-oriented powerful forces are in action and, with respect to this question, they are attempting to present the CPSU Central Committee Plenum with a fait accompli.

Perestroika has not given birth to, but has revealed, that which was accumulated in the sphere of national life during the years and decades of Stalinism and stagnation. At the same time the problems in this sphere are nothing else but a kind of national "cross section" of all the problems of perestroika: economic, political, social, etc. If the national factor in its present condition is not combined with all the other problems of the revolutionary transformation of our society, perestroika will not occur. Do the party and society have sufficient strength for a new perestroika? Is it possible that there will not be sufficient strength...

Kiev Officials Censured for Orchestrating Shevchenko Celebration

18120086 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 18, 7-14 May 89 p 13

[Article by Vitaly Zakharchenko]

[Text] My trip to Kiev on family business coincided with an important cultural anniversary—175 years since the birth of Taras Shevchenko, a great son of the Ukrainian people.

First I visited the Taras Shevchenko Museum, then a monument to the Kobzar, the bard, as Shevchenko has been called, in a neighbouring park. I could feel a tension in the air as I approached the museum: the closer I came, the fewer ordinary passerby there were and the more militiamen, in and out of uniform, with walkie-talkies and cars with official license plates.

I spotted a carpet laid at the museum entrance, but the entrance door was closed. Visitors coming to see the museum's new exhibits stood there puzzled. Many of them tried the door, opened it a crack, peeked inside and then left confused. I opened the door for myself and stepped in. Immediately, my passage was blocked by two alert characters with a determined air: come back after three o'clock, they said, the museum isn't open yet. Why? Evidently the museum wasn't yet ready to receive visitors though everything was gleaming and smelled of the fresh-cut flowers arranged in vases. Obviously the flowers were intended for some important visitors whose arrival was imminent.

I went to the monument: the same scene was in progress. The popular park was empty except for groups of two or three plain-clothes militiamen ambling through the alleys and along the perimeter, scrutinizing each passerby, questioning and keeping others away. Then a cavalcade of big black cars swept bearing famous people so anxiously awaited. They looked bored as they sauntered leisurely up to the monument where they laid a pre-packaged basket of lowers. The whole thing took two minutes.

As I looked on from a distance, I thought people in Moscow won't believe it because nowadays they are unaccustomed to seeing such things. I don't know who organized this show. And I could hardly ask the strained-looking guys standing on the corner. I think it would be improper to blame the well-known leaders: they may not know how their subordinates behave.

But it was much more pleasant in the park that evening with people playing lutes by the monument and bringing flowers, reciting poetry and singing songs. There was a natural order in the human throng—everyone was respectful of others and the place itself.

The following evening, however, the local authorities decided to correct the "oversight" that had allowed people to recite verses, sing aloud and just smile. A truck with loudspeakers on top was stationed right by the monument with the amplifier turned up as high as it would go.

Seeking refuge from that roar, people fled to the park's remotest alleys where they had been talking, enjoying the relative calm. I can't imagine anything like this happening near the monument to Rainis in Riga, the monument to Rustaveli in Tbilisi, or the monument to Pushkin in Moscow.

Readers Voice Concerns, Support for Use of Ukrainian Language

18000977 Kiev *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* in Russian
26 Mar 89 p 3

[Excerpts from letters under the rubric: "A Life-Giving Spring of Unification": "Communication Enriches: Readers Agree, Dispute, and Propose"]

[Text] "My esteemed *RABOCHAYA GAZETA*! I would very much like to find out the answer to the following question: who is the thief who revised the "Ukrainian

Soviet Encyclopedic Dictionary" not with the Ukrainian language, as was the case before, but rather with the Russian language? Furthermore, I would likewise like to find out how the area where the Ukrainian language has been adopted is expanding.

That's precisely the way our reader V.F. Malakhov, from Yagotin, Kiev Oblast, posed the question. "Thief"—and that's all. Fortunately, far from all the letters received by the editors on such issues as language, national culture, and inter-ethnic ties are characterized by such a categorical quality. People are coming to understand more and more that in this complicated matter we need to take a careful, well-balanced approach. Although at times opinions are at polar opposites.

"I would ask you to explain to me why it is that I must experience a nervous upset every time a new school year begins, and must get my children released from studying Ukrainian language and literature. I consider that this is a voluntary matter," writes Valentina Vasilyevna S. from Mariupol. "It's difficult for me to help my children study it, since I myself don't know the language and have lived my life without experiencing the need to study it. And you yourselves know how it is taught in school.... I think that this question should be decided on a voluntary basis and that the parents should have an opportunity to make a choice...."

But here our long-time subscriber I.S. Shamlitskiy, who works at the Berezhovskaya GRES, is convinced that within the next 2 or 3 years all educational institutions in the Ukraine without exception must convert to using the Ukrainian language. There will be 2 or 3 institutions in each of the large cities using Russian and, perhaps, one Jewish school using Hebrew. Courses have to be organized for teachers who are not fluent in Ukrainian. This seems to him to be the solution to all the problems. To be sure, it is still far off....

"I was born and live permanently in Kharkov," writes A. S. (unfortunately, we cannot decipher the signature), a veteran of labor and a participant in the Great Patriotic War. "I'm already 79 years old. By nationality I'm Russian, and I received my education in the Russian language. But I'm fond of Ukrainian songs and am a fluent speaker of Ukrainian. To be sure, in Kharkov one can hear Ukrainian being spoken only in the theater and on rare occasions in the marketplace.

"In recent times Ukrainian writers and poets have been speaking very frequently on the radio; they complain that Ukrainian literature sells very poorly in the bookstores, and one hears only the Russian language in institutions. And they call for a situation whereby everything would be in the Ukrainian language. I fear that things might be twisted to the point where they were during the 1920's, when the Ukrainian language was

introduced by force even in the Central-Chernozem oblasts. Of course, nothing good came of it, and this policy was abandoned. As the saying goes, you can't force love...."

Another inhabitant of Kharkov, the military serviceman Z.V. Kravchuk; the fitter-repairman V. Pitsikevich from the city of Borislav, Lvov Oblast; V.S. Zaplitnyuk from Uzhgorod, and many, many others of our readers ardently support the idea that we need a law which would accord Ukrainian the status of the state language.

"We need to cultivate a harmonious bilingualism. But not just to achieve a bilingualism among those Ukrainians who have forgotten their own language," writes Vitaliy Alekseyevich Mateush, one of our readers from Khmelnytskyi. "And it is likewise important, it seems to me, in the spirit of internationalism, to bring closer together various language schools in the Ukraine. That is, to teach Russian scientific terminology together with the Ukrainian terminology, and to teach Russian on a supplementary basis in the Ukrainian schools. So that a school graduate would know, for example, that 'luzhni metali' and 'shchelochnyye metally' mean one and the same thing ['alkalii metals']."

The letters of N. Zuban from Kiev, Grigoriy Savelyevich Krivenko from the city of Kuznetsovsk, Rovno Oblast, Nikolay Pavlovich Golovyev from Kharkov, I.I. Litvinenko from the city of Shakhtersk, Donetsk Oblast, and others are permeated with alarm and pain for the fate and development of Ukrainian culture and language.

Unfortunately, our newspaper space is limited, and we are not able to publish all the letters immediately. We are publishing two of them today with certain cuts and abbreviations. And, taking into consideration the fact that the streamflow of letters is not drying up, we invite our readers to take part in a discussion of the prospects for developing a Ukrainian national culture, language, the languages and cultures of the other people who have settled our republic, and the fraternal ties between the peoples of our multi-national country, the problems of developing its unified, national-economic complex. It would be particularly interesting to talk about the interesting experience which we already have or which is just emerging. And this, of course, is just what has already been created and is now being created by the societies of friends of the native language. We think that such a conversation—kind, friendly, and motivated (and it must be only such)—would proceed to benefit and develop national ties and strengthen inter-ethnic ties.

Just What Is Getting in the Way?

Esteemed editors!

I'm writing to you as a former subscriber of RABOCHAYA GAZETA. Why former? I had to leave my native Ukraine and spend time in far-off service abroad.

But I have remembered the selections from the column entitled "The Life-Giving Spring"—it's a fine and necessary matter that you have undertaken.

I want to state my own opinion also: the problem of the Ukrainian language and inter-ethnic ties bothers many people. Converting the Ukrainian schools to the use of Russian as the language of instruction during the years of stagnation sharply affected the disappearance of Ukrainian as a conversational language. This was particularly true in the cities. I've noticed that many books are not in demand among readers because they have been published in Ukrainian. The reason, in my opinion, lies in the absence of Ukrainian kindergartens, as well as in low linguistic standards in general. If the parents spoke Ukrainian fluently and grammatically at home, then the use of Russian in the kindergartens would not be a hindrance. But the parents themselves, as a rule, employ a kind of "mish-mash" in their speech rather than a language.

Nevertheless, I suppose that the only persons who could oppose the study of Ukrainian in general would be those who have come to the Ukraine, those for whom it is a matter of indifference whether the Ukrainian language, customs, culture, and even the nation exists or not. Because, of course, they used to get along splendidly without this; so why should they trouble themselves? But this is really a lack of culture!

The following, very correct statement was made in the article by the Donetsk writer V. Shutov, which was published in RABOCHAYA GAZETA: Everybody should study Ukrainian. This must be done so that in the future Ukrainian writers and poets may emerge in the Ukraine, as well as staff members in the fields of culture, and that this matter not be allowed to drift haphazardly.

The discussion about the necessity for reviving the native language and culture has been going on for a long time, but the "cart" still seems to be in the same place. Just what is getting in the way?

Stepan OVCHARENKO, military serviceman.

Grodno Oblast Creates Commission to Oversee Rights of Rehabilitated Persons
18001058 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 1 Apr 89 p 3

[BELTA REPORT: "By Means of Restructuring"]

[Text] Grodno, 31 March (BELTA). A session of the oblast's council of people's deputies today examined the work of its ispolkom in conditions of restructuring in light of decisions stemming from the 19th Party Conference. D.K. Artsimenya, chairman of the oblispolkom, delivered a speech.

An oblast council permanent commission on nationalities issues and international relations was created. Also created was a commission attached to the oblast council to assist in the guarantee of rights and interests of rehabilitated persons and the erection of memorials to the victims of the repression encompassing the years 1930 to 1940 and the beginning of the 50's.

V.G. Yevtukh, first deputy chairman of the BSSR Council of Ministers, spoke at the meeting.

Citizens Protest Against FRG Ship With Hazardous Waste in Black Sea

18110075a Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian
2 Mar 89 p 2

[Article, published under the rubric "Following Events," by Ye. Krasnovskyy: "What Is It With the 'Petersberg'?"]

[Text] The story of the West German ship "Petersberg," about which RADYANSKA UKRAYINA has reported on several occasions, has aroused a stormy reaction on the part of our readers. We have just received a letter signed by 168 employees of a Kiev design office, which reads as follows: "This office's employees are very upset over the newspaper's report of a foreign vessel in our territorial waters carrying a cargo of hazardous waste. We absolutely oppose discharging on the territory of the USSR the environmentally hazardous cargo indicated in the article, and we call upon all the citizens of our country to join in this protest."

What is happening with the "Petersberg"? To obtain information, our correspondent contacted by telephone V. H. Hidulyan, chairman of the Vilkovo City Executive Committee in Odessa Oblast.

"The 'Petersberg' is still located 14 nautical miles from the port of Ust-Dunaysk, near Zmeyiny Island," reported Vasyl Hryhorovych. "And this fact is of great concern to the people of our city. In connection with this we have sent to Glavsoyuzgoskomprirody a telegram containing a strong protest on the part of the people of Vilkovo against discharging this ship's cargo and demanding that the vessel leave our territorial waters. But we have just received a telegram in reply from the chairman of this committee, Comrade Ziberov. I quote: 'The physicochemical characteristics of the soil and the technical capabilities of the port of Ust-Dunaysk make it possible to perform a partial transfer of the vessel's cargo. After that it must leave the Black Sea. Organizational matters are being handled by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.'

"Do you see what is happening? You can get upset all you like, but we shall make all the decisions. Naturally we don't like this. It is not surprising that upon learning of this reply the townspeople held a mass meeting at which posters were displayed bearing the message 'Get the "Petersburg" Out of Here!' The port workers have declared that they will refuse to unload the vessel's cargo.

We are also thinking about setting up pickets to prevent unloading. It is true that there is one complication: the water in the Danube is very low, and this prevents the ship from leaving its anchorage. But this does not diminish our resolve to make sure that hazardous cargo stays clear of Soviet territory."

Georgian-Mingrelian Unity Stressed, Its Enemies Castigated

18130055 Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI
in Georgian 21 Jan 89 pp 4, 7

[Article by Sergi Chilaia: "Tamar's Cross"]

[Text] It was April 1945. The historic treasure, which had been carried off to Paris in 1921, was returned to Georgia. Its guardian and savior, the great national hero Ekvtime Takaishvili, was in the Georgian State Museum turning the treasure over to a Georgian governmental commission headed by Academician Simon Dzhnashia. The treasure was in labelled boxes that had been brought from the airport. Fate granted me the privilege of being a member of that commission, a witness and participant in those exciting days. The historic act required 57 meetings and took five months. Something very strange happened during the process: When they opened the box that was supposed to contain Tamar's pectoral cross, it was not there. There was a stunned silence. Ekvtime Takaishvili was very upset, and Simon Dzhnashia, with his customary calmness, tried to soothe him. But everyone was upset. Just at that moment, Irodion Songulashvili opened the next box and "found" Tamar's cross and solemnly passed it over to Ekvtime—"the magnificent cross moistened by Tamar's tears..." We could see tears in his eyes. Then he said happily: "I first held this cross in my hand in the Khobi Monastery and described it in my 1914 book "Archeological Travels in Mingrelia." Here he paused, gave the cross to Simon, and added: "As you know, I was bound to these treasures by fate and by my profession, and I described every one of them in my books concerning my archeological travels. Then, by some miracle, I saved these spiritual treasures of our nation from the storms and disasters that befell Georgia. With them I have traveled my tormented and perilous life's path from Batumi to Paris and back from Paris to Tbilisi. A part of my soul is embodied in every item...."

I listened transfixed to the confession-like words of this noble, Christlike figure and was astonished by the spiritual valor that had enabled the man to sacrifice himself for his native land.... Although I had been a student of Ivane Dzhevakhishvili and Simon Dzhnashia, it seemed to me now that I was taking my first lesson in Georgian history, gazing upon the fabulous treasure that had been saved solely through the divine efforts of Ekvtime Takaishvili.... The returned treasure consisted of countless icons and crosses adorned with gold and jewels, but Tamar's pectoral cross had an enchantment all its own. The first of my generation to do so, I took this marvelous cross into my hands and gazed at it carefully.

After I went home, I excitedly leafed through Ekvtime's book, published in 1914, and reread this passage: "A folding icon of the Savior, gold, containing a treasure most precious to Georgians, Queen Tamar's pectoral cross, 15.3x10.8 centimeters. Depicted on the outside is Our Lord and Savior, blessing with His right hand, holding the Gospels in His left. Inlaid gold adorns the icon, beautifully ornamented and decorated with 21 precious stones, carnelians, amethysts, turquoise, sapphires, and rubies.... Tamar's cross rests inside this folding icon. It is 7x4 centimeters and consists of the following precious stones: four large emeralds forming the face of the cross, five carnelians, including one at the center and four at the extremities. There are six large, pear-shaped pearls, four of which are placed in the angles of the cross, while the two above are fastened to a hinge to be joined to a necklace bead. Apparently a piece of the True Cross was embedded in the cross. The other side of the cross has the following inlaid majuscule inscription: "O True Cross, power of the cross, lead thou, help thou and protect Queen Sovereign Tamar." At the edge of the icon in which the cross rests is the following inscription: "O holy and eternal icon, help thou and protect, now and forever, Prince of Princes Shergil and my wife, Queen of Queens Natela, and my son Tsotne." The spirit of Georgian unity was handed down from generation to generation, the unchanging spirit of the Georgia of David and Tamar. This is how two national heroes—Tamar the Great and Tsotne Dadiani—came to be in this princely (Dadiani) icon.

"The Icon of the Savior which holds Tamar's cross," Ekvtime Takaishvili writes, "must have been made on Shergil Dadiani's orders. That 13th-century worthy had a clear understanding of what a precious treasure Queen Tamar's cross represented to the Georgian people. Since it held a piece of the True Cross, a great many people would have worshipped and prayed to it, and so the icon must have been opened frequently for the sake of those who came to see and pray. For this reason, the icon comes down to us in a damaged condition. On the other hand, the cross itself is beautifully preserved thanks to the efforts of Shergil Dadiani, who, as we mentioned, is portrayed in a mural of the church at Khobi and has a covered marble shrine in the church at Martvili" (E. Takaishvili, "Archeological Travels," p 153). That's how much our ancestors admired and cherished the names of David and Tamar. It should also be pointed out that these treasures, embodying the soul of unified Georgia and preserved and returned to Georgia through the efforts of Ekvtime Takaishvili, belonged mostly to Gelati, Martvili, Khobi, and Zugdidi. No one did as much for Georgian unity and strength as David the Builder and Queen Tamar. But we must not forget the names of other heroes who fought for Georgian national unity. Not only did they lead us in the flesh, giving their own lives to set an example of dedication to our motherland, but even after death their shades call to us from their sepulchres—from Bedia (Bagrat III), Martvili (Bagrat IV), Gelati (David the Great), Svetitskhoveli (Gorgasal and Erekle II).... Close ranks and defend this

our fatherland. Always remember our bequest to you: Do not break up the unity of the Georgians....

Even during times of great trouble, the national candles of unified Georgia that were lit by our ancestors were never extinguished, yet unified Georgia had a great many enemies and traitors. Georgia's national vigor under the leadership of David the Builder and Queen Tamar at the battles of Didgori, Shamkori, and Basiani won this country renown as one of the strongest and most invincible countries in the world at that time, and ever since, these words of Rustaveli have been the emblem on the flag of David and Tamar: "Better to die in glory than live in shame." We defended this glorious banner through times of bloodshed and have thus brought it down to our own century. In these terrible wars, the flag of David, the flag of Tamar was always led by the Cross of Christ. In this context, Tamar's cross is not only a symbol of historical romance but also of Georgia's historical reality: "I love to gaze upon old things, things of yore. Every ancient relic relates its story, recounts the past: It tells how many generations it has lived.... Such a relic recreates the ancient past of our nation and tells us its history.... And if you desire to summon them, call out, they will come forth, look upon you, and begin to speak... They have not forgotten speech, they will even sing to you if they know you as their own, outsider though you may appear.... They will come to life, the events of former times will be repeated before your eyes, but most of the stories will be sad." This final phrase of Vasil Barnovi reminds me of Grigol Orbeliani's poem "The Face of Queen Tamar in the Church at Betania": "At thy holy face, filled with beauty and radiant with grace, I gaze most humbly and worshipfully, overcome with tears I kiss thy feet! Rejoicing, I gaze upon thee, grieving I gaze upon thee, and this gazing I desire unto death, let me not awaken, that I may suffer no more from the sorrows of my motherland."

Yes, every piece in this treasure has told us its story, the sad tale of how one Obolenskaya, claiming Russian sovereignty, tried to take it away from Georgia. That included Tamar's cross. Thus the links in the chain of memory lead once more forcefully to Tamar's cross! Tamar's cross! It is a part of the soul of Queen Tamar the valiant and beautiful, the magical power of Georgia's unity. The mountain village elder and the pastor in the valley alike ascribe the power of God to Tamar's cross, with phrases like "Tamar's cross protect us," "By the grace of Tamar's cross...." The Georgian Church made Tamar a saint, and her name has become a legend among the Georgian people, in Georgian literature and the arts. Tamar is the first myth among Georgia's sovereigns, and acknowledged to be Georgia's messiah, like Christ. Yes, the mortar of Georgia's unity was Christianity, and Georgian Christianity's language of worship is Georgian. That is how we came through many trials and defended our national identity, Georgian language and Georgian ways and customs. Both business and worship were conducted in Georgian all over Christian Georgia. That

is why Tsarism attacked the mortar of unity, the Georgian language. After Georgia was made into two guberniyas of tsarist Russia, it was forbidden to conduct business in Georgian. And here is a fact of historical significance. As is well known, the Kingdom of Kartli-Kakheti was the first to be joined to tsarist Russia, followed by the Kingdom of Imereti. The Principality of Mingrelia was the last to be abolished, in 1866. In Mingrelia, Georgian was maintained as the language of business until the end by Niko Dadiani, the last prince. That is why this mortar of Georgian unity was immediately attacked by tsarist Russia's agents as soon as the Principality of Mingrelia was abolished. Let us recall that those were the years when the great men of the 1860s, led by Ilia and Akaki, spearheaded Georgia's spiritual unification, the Georgian's national reawakening, and a miracle happened: After the time of David and Tamar, Georgia had never been so united in national spirit and consciousness as during the time of Ilia and Akaki. Never before had Georgia published so many journals and newspapers in the Georgian language as during the generation of the 1860s. These endeavors were spearheaded by Georgia's great men, Ilia, Akaki, Niko Nikoladze, Ivane Machabeli, Rapiel Eristavi, and Giorgi Tsereteli. Ilia's bank was the national instrument whose funds and aid went to establish the first Georgian elementary schools in all parts of the country and to finance the newly established Georgian theater. The Society to Spread Literacy Among the Georgian People, which they established, sent talented young Georgians to Russia and Europe to get a higher education. This society also undertook to collect the old manuscripts and books of the nation's spiritual culture and gather them together in Tbilisi. With this aim in mind, the well-known public figure Vasil Machabeli, on behalf of the Literacy Society, wrote a letter to Niko Dadiani, the deposed Mingrelian prince, who had settled in St. Petersburg. This is the answer he received: "My dear Prince Vasil, for a long time I have cherished the idea of giving everything in my library which pertains to Georgian history, geography, literature, or anything else having to do with our homeland, to our Literacy Society, which, of course, has considerably more funds and facilities. Let this be of benefit to our country rather than to an individual person. But for various reasons, this desire of mine has remained unfulfilled until now. If you please, then, convey to the Society's Board of Directors in my name that I have given the order. Prince Konstantine Davidovich Nizharadze will turn my whole library over to the editors of DROEBA in Tbilisi, where persons appointed by the Society can select those books which they deem necessary and useful.

"If donating my library to the Society will benefit our mother country, I will consider myself a happy man. Respectfully, Nikoloz, Prince of Mingrelia, 28 February 1885, St. Petersburg."

The 19 March 1885 edition of DROEBA carries a lead article titled "Truly a Kingly Contribution," in which it expresses thanks to the former Prince of Mingrelia for his

donation.... "To this gratifying news we should add that we have seen the catalog of the library, which was compiled several years ago by Akaki Tsereteli at the request of the Prince of Mingrelia." That same year, DROEBA reported: "Today, Friday 29 March, a delegation of the Literacy Society set out for Mingrelia to take possession of the library donated by the Prince of Mingrelia. It consists of Ilia Chavchavadze (chairman), Davit Eristavi, Iona Meunargia, Vasil Machabeli, Grigol Kipshidze, and Samson Kipiani...." In the 6 April 1885 edition of DROEBA we read: "The commission has returned to Tbilisi with the whole library. It consists of 179 volumes including many valuable manuscripts, among them certain ones from the 10th and 11th centuries."

In the gathering and safekeeping of Georgian manuscripts, a major role was played by the great national public figure Ekvtime Takaishvili. He published descriptions of the Literacy Society's library in IVERIA Nos 3-18, 1890.

This newly-awakened, powerful national movement among the Georgians was severely attacked by agents of tsarist Russia. One of their prime goals was to split Mingrelia off from Georgia. Dimitri Kipiani, the well-known public figure who once served as tutor to Davit Dadiani's and Ekaterine Chavchavadze's children, was the first to unmask this despicable tsarist scheme. He wrote: "Since the time of the Apostles, Georgian has been the language of church and culture in Mingrelia, and everyone there understands the language. Now they are planting a new culture there—teaching Mingrelian by means of a different alphabet. If we go on this way, maybe they'll develop new languages for the Adjarians, the Pshavs and Khevsurs, the Ingilos, the Mtiulians, and others. Why are they doing this to us? Why are they splitting up Georgia?" Shocked by these events, Georgia knew very well that it was a long-range scheme to break up Georgia's unity in order then to Russify each entity separately and thus destroy the Georgian language and any remnant of Georgia whatsoever. The Georgian newspapers and journals sounded the alarm, DROEBA the most loudly. The leading intelligentsia of Mingrelia rose up along with all Georgia, alarm bells were rung in the monasteries of Sioni, Gelati, Martvili, Khobi, and Bedia. Ilia, Akaki, Tedo Zhordania, Iona Meunargia, and Tedo Sakhokia journeyed specially to Mingrelia, Samurzakano, and Sukhumi. As a result, five new Georgian-language parish schools were opened in the region, funded by the Literacy Society and the bank. This national movement was endorsed from St. Petersburg by Niko Dadiani. He again addressed Vasil Machabeli with these patriotic words: "My dear Vaso, I received your two letters and hasten to express my thanks that you have done everything in a way pleasing to me. Your last letter was very gratifying, although I am troubled by the fact that as you say, several books are missing from the library. I am issuing the necessary orders now and everything will be found in time. We are making big preparations. We think that the Afghan affair my end

most unhappily, but hopes for a settlement are not lost. It is the kind of business that affects all enlightened and unenlightened countries. I read the articles which claim that there is no similarity between the Mingrelian and Georgian languages. But you know me: Nothing surprises me!... I just want to say that the foreign philologists who are writing about Mingrelian and Georgian are totally confused. Let them learn our language and then write about it. Some people are ruined by too much studying! There are many examples of this in the world. Fortunately, our people have their own opinions and beliefs, inherited from our own history, and there is no one now who can convince us of something that is not true for us or persuade us to do what will hinder our progress. A man comes to know a people when he lives among them and speaks their language. Moreover, a person must have the desire to learn a people's history and then talk about it. I view Mingrelia, Imereti, and Guria as provinces of Georgia. There are no differences among us, nor should there be: That is my belief, and I'll believe it until I die. That's all we need, for some Chinese philologist to write about our language and try to teach us Georgian; that'll be the day. Now we have to give thought to finding a place for our library. I'll let you know what I think when the time comes. It would be shameful if all of us together couldn't take care of this easy task. Let me know what you think about the money we will need to buy a place in Tbilisi.... I hope you won't forget me and that you will write and tell me the news there. Your friend, Niko. 17 April, 1885, St. Petersburg." Just take a look at that letter, so imbued with the interests of a unified Georgia! It was written by the former Prince of Mingrelia, who never betrayed the Georgian language serving as the mortar of Georgia's unity after Mingrelia, like Kartli-Kakheti, accepted Russian dominion on 1 December 1803. From that time until the abolition of the Principality of Mingrelia (25 December 1866), there was a Georgian stationery, and correspondence and business in the Principality were conducted in Georgian. Consider this document, which was signed by Prince Davit Dadiani of Mingrelia (Niko Dadiani's father) [text is in old-fashioned Georgian]: "It has come to the attention of my father and me that certain ruling princes and nobles have been treating their serfs in a harsh and cruel manner. Most recently, Prince Temurkva Anchabadze punished his peasant Bakhuta Abshilava for allowing a falcon to escape. He made a cell in the form of a coffin and placed Abshilava in it for a period of time, feeding him through a window cut into the box. This behavior by Anchabadze is contrary to social life, and inhumane. I command as follows: Let no one henceforth punish his peasants in this harsh and cruel manner. (Proclamation No 133, 31 January 1844, Davit Dadiani, Prince of Mingrelia)." Yes, when it was forbidden to conduct correspondence and business in Georgian in the Tbilisi and Kutaisi guberniyas, in Mingrelia Georgian retained its status as the official language of Georgia until 1867. This was the kind of atmosphere and traditions which nurtured Davit Dadiani's and Ekaterine Chavchavadze's son Niko Dadiani, whose letters to Vasil Machabeli retain the spirit, faith, and

understanding of a unified Georgia.... And the deeper the roots put down by the idea of a united Georgia, the more the foes and enemies that it acquired. Under the circumstances, Akaki Tsereteli compares Georgia to our native lute: "Our Georgia is a singing lute, we are the strings upon it, though living in different parts of the land...." And there he warns us: "The enemy is sneaking up on us, like a fox or jackal... If one of the strings should break, God help us." And indeed, like a fox or jackal, the enemy fiercely attacked the land of Georgia, finely tuned by Ilia and Akaki, and dreamed of breaking those strings. Unfortunately, this "fox-and-jackal-dom" against the lute strings of Georgia still sometimes surfaces today. An example of this is S. Bruk's article about the all-union census that was published in IZVESTIYA on 11 January of this year. His fabrication has the smell of mothballs about it. What can you do?! If it had not been for Ekvtime Takaishvili, perhaps Tamar's cross might never have found its permanent home in the Georgian State Museum of Art, and many unique Georgian manuscripts would have been lost. Those who are resentful of Georgia's unity have barked at it many times, but in vain: The dog barks, but the caravan travels on, as the saying goes.... And there is no power that can dissolve the mortar that binds Georgian unity—the language of David, the language of Tamar, the language of Tsotne, the language of Rustaveli—the Georgian language in which we all worship.

Legal Status of Georgian, Other Languages Discussed

18130057 Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 4, 27 Jan 89 p 5

[Article by Tamaz Shavgulidze: "Legislative Status of Language"]

[Text] The starting point for the legal guarantee of the functioning of language as a national and social phenomenon in Georgia is the fundamental law of the state—the Constitution. The USSR Constitution does not stipulate a state language. In actuality, this function is performed by the Russian language, which is the language of interethnic communication for the multinational federative type of state that the USSR represents.

The present Georgian SSR Constitution declares Georgian to be the state language. According to Article 75, "Georgian is the state language of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic.

"The Georgian SSR shall provide state support for the all-round development of the Georgian language and promote its use in state and social organs as well as cultural, educational, and other institutions.

"The free use of Russian and other languages in use by the population is guaranteed in said organs and institutions of the Georgian SSR. No privileges or restrictions with respect to the use of a particular language shall be permitted."

Accordingly, Article 75 of the Georgian SSR Constitution names three categories of languages: 1) Georgian, the state language; 2) the Russian language; 3) languages in use by the population. In addition to Article 75, language is mentioned in Article 110 of the Georgian Constitution, which states: "The laws of the Georgian SSR, the decrees of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, and other acts shall be published in Georgian and Russian. In the case of the autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts, such acts shall be published in the language of the autonomous republic or autonomous oblast, with the signatures of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman and Secretary."

Hence, the Georgian SSR Constitution stipulates the following succession of languages: Georgian, the state language; Russian; the language of an autonomous republic or an autonomous oblast; and other languages in use by the population.

According to Article 70 of the Abkhazian ASSR: "The state languages of the Abkhazian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic are Abkhazian, Georgian, and Russian.

"The Abkhazian ASSR shall provide state support for the all-round development of the Abakhzian language and promote the use of it and the other state languages in state and social organizations and in cultural, educational, and other institutions."

According to Article 70 of the Adjarian ASSR Constitution, Georgian is the state language of the Adjarian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

As an autonomous oblast, South Ossetia does not have its own constitution. The legal status of the South Ossetian AO is defined by the law "On the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast." This document does not indicate the oblast's state language. Article 6, which has to do with the equal rights status of the oblast's citizens, stipulates that Soviet citizens living in the oblast are guaranteed the possibility of using their native language and other languages existing in the USSR.

It is to be noted that not one of the autonomous oblasts in the USSR has a legally stipulated oblast state language; this is only natural, since an autonomous oblast is not a state, and hence it cannot have a state language. An autonomous oblast forms part of a union republic that constitutes a sovereign state, and that state language extends over the oblast's territory.

An autonomous republic constitutes a state within a union republic, although unlike a union republic it does not constitute a sovereign state. Hence, an autonomous republic can have a state language within its territory. Because an autonomous republic also forms part of a union republic, the state language of that union republic extends over the territory of the autonomous republic.

Moreover, according to the Abkhazian ASSR Constitution, as we have noted, Abkhazian and Russian are designated as state languages in addition to Georgian.

It should be noted, in regard to the numerous autonomous republics within the USSR, that Georgia is the only republic within which the constitutions of the autonomous republics stipulate a state language. It should also be noted that the previous Abkhazian ASSR Constitution included no stipulation regarding a state language. The state language of the union republic extended over the territory of the Abkhazian ASSR.

Nowhere in the present USSR Constitution is there any mention of the languages of autonomous republics, oblasts, and okrugs. Paragraph 15 of Article 119 deals only with the languages of the union republics. "USSR laws and other acts adopted by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet and its chambers, and the USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman shall be published in the languages of the union republics."

A stipulation regarding the language of a union republic is also made in Article 169 of the USSR Constitution, according to which "The coat of arms of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall comprise the depiction of a hammer and sickle against the background of the Earth illuminated by the rays of the sun. It shall be bordered with stalks of grain and inscribed with the legend 'Proletarians of all countries, unite!' in the languages of the union republics."

From this brief review of the constitutional status of language, two points stand out: Constitutionally, one language has the status of a state language, a second has the status of the language of an autonomous oblast, and a third has that of the language of interethnic communication. Also included is the term "other languages" in use by the population. In addition, it is acknowledged that all languages have equal rights of use and that "no privileges or restrictions with respect to the use of a particular language shall be permitted."

Are there any contradictions here? These stipulations do not contain any. A language not only serves national-psychological and cultural functions but also purely social and political functions. From this it follows that the law grants different functions to different languages under different circumstances in different territories and different state entities, and the state's concern with the development of these languages also differs. Any other approach to the matter is impossible and unjustified. Thus, for example, the Georgian SSR must above all be concerned in particular for the all-round development of the Georgian and Abkhazian languages, because the development of these languages outside Georgia is impossible. A certain amount of concern must be shown for the development of Ossetian in Georgia, inasmuch as it is a language of the autonomous oblast, but at the same time it is necessary to take account of the fact that the

North Ossetian Autonomous Republic ought to be the main center for the development of the Ossetian language. The Russian language merits special concern in Georgia because of its role as the language of interethnic and interrepublic communication in Georgia—not in terms of promoting its development but in terms of its study and use.

For this reason, the problem of the all-round development of the Georgian and Abkhazian languages must be the prime concern of the Georgian SSR, and we cannot ask any other republic to be concerned with the development of these languages, regardless of whether Georgians and Abkhazians live in those republics.

There can be no question that, under conditions of overall constitutional equal rights with respect to languages, the supreme social-political status in a state goes to the state language. This supremacy should be reflected basically in the fact that the state language must be the official language—that is, it should be the language used in conducting business over the entire territory of the state: "In state and social organs and cultural, educational, and other institutions" (Article 75 of the Constitution).

According to the Georgian SSR Constitution, therefore, as a rule all business is to be conducted in the state language—Georgian—in all organs and institutions over the entire territory of Georgia. This is binding in particular on all the republic's central organs, namely: the Supreme Soviet, the Communist Party Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, the ministries (and, of course, organs subordinate to them), and also social and cultural institutions. Are any exceptions to be permitted? Certainly. But, in our opinion, it should be subject to discussion by the republic's supreme organ of authority, and granting the exception should require, at the very least, a decree endorsed by the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Such a decree cannot change the status of the state language, which is constitutionally stipulated, but in some particular department—for example, in air or rail transport establishments—the use of Russian along with the state language can be stipulated for the conduct of business. The only organizations in the republic in which business is not to be conducted in the state language are troop formations, which are not territorially subordinate to the republic.

Under conditions of conducting business in the state language in the republic's state or social organizations and institutions, the "free use of Russian and other languages in use by the population" must be guaranteed (Article 75). The free use of languages means that any employee of some establishment who is not proficient in Georgian has the right to make an official appeal to the administration in Russian or in the language of an autonomous republic or autonomous oblast, also in the language used by the population of compact settlements in the republic (meaning Armenian and Azerbaijani) and request that he be made acquainted with the necessary

documents in those languages; he has the right to speak freely in Russian or any of the other languages mentioned above at meetings, rallies, scientific conferences, symposiums, on radio and television, in the press, and so on. All this is guaranteed by the fact that the republic publishes many journals and newspapers not only in Russian but also in Abkhazian, Ossetian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani. Television and radio broadcasts are made in these languages. There are functioning theaters which perform not only in Russian but also in Abkhazian, Ossetian, Armenian, and others. Under this interpretation of the "use" of language, "no privileges or restrictions with respect to the use of a particular language shall be permitted."

According to the Abkhazian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Constitution, as we mentioned above (Article 70), the state languages are Abkhazian, Georgian, and Russian. Accordingly, the three languages are equally in force within the territory of Abkhazia, and business is to be conducted in the three languages, as necessary, in state and cultural institutions operating within the territory.

Within the territory of the Ossetian AO, according to present legislation, business is to be conducted in the state language—Georgian—along with the broad use of the oblast language (Ossetian) and Russian.

One manifestation of the principle of the "free use" of languages is the provision for obtaining a secondary education in one's native language.

In Georgia, instruction is provided in Georgian for the Georgians, in Russian for the Russians, in Abkhazian for the Abkhazians, and in Ossetian for the Ossetians. For other nationalities living in compact communities—meaning Armenians and Azerbaijanis—instruction is provided in Armenian and Azerbaijani. Representatives of national minorities who do not live in compact settlements and are small in numbers can attend secondary schools taught in any language. Whatever the language of instruction in the schools of Georgia, they must obligatorily provide instruction in Georgian, which is the state language, and in Russian, which is the language of interethnic communication. Whatever the language of instruction in the schools of the Abkhazian ASSR, they must provide instruction in the three state languages—Abkhazian, Georgian, and Russian.

According to Article 20 of the Fundamental Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics Concerning Public Education (27 November 1985), "In addition to the language of instruction, school students may, if they wish, study the language of another people of the USSR." Does the opinion expressed above regarding instruction in the state language in the schools contradict this stipulation and the voluntary principle regarding the study of languages? In my opinion, no. First of all, the state language which is in force in a particular territory cannot be equated, in terms of its importance within that

territory, with the language of "another people of the USSR." Thus, for example, the obligatory study of Estonian for schoolchildren in Estonia cannot be matched, for example, by the obligatory study of Georgian or Uzbek, but that's not the main point. The point is that the study of a particular language in secondary school does not derive from a general civic obligation to study the particular language but from the obligatory requirement of attending school. Thus, for example, it is not obligatory for a Georgian to study a Western European language, but if he wants to obtain a certificate of graduation from a secondary school, when attending a Georgian school he must learn not only Russian but also one of the Western European languages. This is an obligatory requirement on all Georgian schools. And if in this case no one would dream of calling it a violation of the principle of voluntary study of a language, how can we consider the obligatory requirement that the state language be studied in secondary school to be a violation either?

Any state attaches serious importance to the language of the administration of justice. It is regulated by Article 15 of the Georgian SSR Criminal Procedures Code, according to which "the administration of justice in the Georgian SSR shall be carried out in the Georgian language, the language of the autonomous republic, or the language of the majority population of a given locality.

"Persons involved in the case who do not know the language in which proceedings are being conducted are guaranteed the right to submit statements, give testimony, petition, examine all the materials of the case, and speak in court in their native language, and employ the services of an interpreter in accordance with the procedures stipulated by this Code.

"According to the procedures stipulated by this Code, investigative and court documents shall be provided to the accused translated into his native language or into another language which he knows."

According to the law, therefore, court proceedings in Georgia are to be conducted generally in the state language—that is, Georgian. If the majority population of a particular rayon or city is not proficient in Georgian, then the question of the language of court proceedings must be decided beforehand. The deciding factor in this case must be the language of proficiency of the majority population of the rayon or city. In the case of Abkhazia, the language of court proceedings should be one of the state languages, depending on the language of proficiency of the majority population of the particular rayon or city.

Based on the law, the language of the administration of justice in a union republic's law enforcement agencies (the Supreme Court, State Arbitration, Central Procuracy, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Justice, and so on) shall be the state language—Georgian.

We have attempted to comment on present legislation having to do directly or indirectly with the legislative status of language. Obviously, present legislation is not perfect and cannot resolve all the complex problems relating to such vital considerations as the functioning of the state language and other languages in Georgia. It is essential, therefore, that a law on language in the republic be drafted and, after public discussion, enacted.

Work in Tobacco Fields Harmful to Georgian Mothers

18130058 *Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian*
1 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by KOMUNISTI correspondent Mikheil Gorgiladze under the rubric "Follow-Up": "Woes of the Highlands. A Letter and a Minister's Comments"]

[Text] On 18 August 1988, KOMUNISTI published a critical article dealing with medical services in Khulo Rayon. In connection with that, the editors received a response from Khulo resident Badri Meladze. He disputes certain findings cited by participants in the raid, and he discusses a number of noteworthy points, in particular: "The fact that mothers of infant children are working in the tobacco fields has brought it about that nicotinic acid has caused these mothers' milk to dry up.... Haven't you wondered why gastrointestinal and other types of disorders have become more frequent in a land renowned for its pure springs and healthy climate?"

We asked Candidate of Medical Sciences Givi Tsivadze, the Adjarian ASSR Minister of Health, to comment on B. Meladze's letter:

"It is true," the minister told us, "that we have many problems to deal with and resolve in the medical sphere in Adjaria's highland rayons, in particular Khulo. The level of mothers' hygiene education and maternal care is still rather low. We do not have a children's hospital. Unfortunately, there are both objective and subjective reasons why children's mortality is still high in Khulo Rayon. We are certainly not standing idly by in regard to this phenomenon. Health service specialists regularly go to the highland rayons to provide practical and methodological health care services. In the last few years, the rayon has gained additional permanent district hospital facilities in Skhalta, Dioknisi, and Gordzhomi.

"What is known as a mobile polyclinic has been created on the basis of the Adjarian Republic Children's Hospital. We sent 10 physicians to Khulo Rayon to work in 1987-1988 and have expanded pediatric services. These measures have yielded positive results. Citizen Meladze doesn't believe it, but it is a fact that there has not been a single case of a woman dying in childbirth in recent years. A total of 1162 children were born in Khulo Rayon in 1987, and 63 of them died before the age of one year. Deaths in the first 11 months of last year totaled 33. Childbirths at home have been reduced by 1000 in recent times.

"As far as nicotine poisoning is concerned, the criticism is justified. Working in the tobacco fields has an especially negative effect on the health of pregnant women. Scientists in the republic's leading medical research institutes, including the Pediatric Institute, have discovered traces of nicotine poisoning in the milk of mothers of newborn babies in the region. Naturally, this poses a threat to the life of infants. Moreover, pregnant women working in the tobacco fields, coming into contact with the plant, poses a danger to the life of the fetus as well. We regularly warn the public and rayon and village leaders about this, and we now repeat it for all to hear: Pregnant women and young mothers must be categorically prohibited from working not only in the tobacco fields but also enterprises where tobacco is processed. Much has been done in this regard, but the problem has yet to be completely solved."

We think that this statement by the minister and other specialists ought to be of concern to village soviet and kolkhoz officials and deputies; they must heed sound advice. It is a matter of the nation's wellbeing, the fate of future generations. As the minister stated, it is men who ought to be employed in tobacco production, not young mothers and children.

Badri Meladze, the author of the letter, writes: "Tobacco has become a social disaster. Can't people get along without it? Didn't they use to? The cheap warning printed on packs of cigarettes—"Tobacco is harmful to your health"—is not enough. Tobacco is a social evil, and it needs to be eradicated entirely! Yes, totally eradicated! We should offer people potatoes, the cultivation of roses, or beekeeping instead." (Style as in original.)

Clearly, it's not easy to solve the problem with one wave of the hand, as Meladze thinks. Adjara's leaders and specialists have been working a long time on the problem. As long as five years ago, it was stated that tobacco production would have to be gradually reduced. This idea made the people quite unhappy. Tobacco has become a leading crop in the economy of the highland districts, a source of wealth. Many families make 5000 to 6000 rubles from it. The whole world knows that tobacco is harmful, but as we can see it is not an easy thing to stop its production all at once.

It should also be pointed out here that the cultivation of the noble rose requires rich, fertile soil and a mild climate. This question was broached for the Adjarian highlands as long as 15 years ago, but it was never developed.

Badri Meladze writes further: "Tobacco has stunted the mountain man, and you people who have examined the problem so superficially should have seen that, it was your duty as Georgians!"

Is that really so? No, we cannot agree with the author. Far from being stunted, the healthy, tireless mountain man has succeeded in changing Adjara's highlands for

the better, and its economy and social conditions are getting better year by year. Who would have thought that a clothing factory would be opened in Khulo, a facility which employs 400 seamstresses. Other enterprises and affiliates have also gone into operation. Two-story houses, natural gas, television and radio, privately owned cars—these are just a few components of the mountain man's daily life today. It would not be right to blame all sickness on tobacco; if that were so, we would not need hospitals down in the valleys.

Badri Meladze's position is that of an angry man. He only sees the bad side and ignores what has been done and accomplished. In accordance with the decree of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, which calls for social, economic, and cultural improvements in Adjara's highland rayons, much more has been done in the past decade than during the previous period—including health care. That cannot be denied!

Kazakh Party Official on Nationalities Issues
18320405a Alma-Ata LENINSHIL ZHAS in Kazakh
21 Mar 89 p 2

[Interview by Q. Botbayev with R.B. Absattarov, chief of the Sector for Internationality Relations of the Kazakhstan CP central Committee Party History Institute, candidate in philosophical sciences: "High Expectations of Internationalism"]

[Text] Rawshanbek Boranbayuly, among letters to the editor of LENINSHIL ZHAS, we find some suggesting removing the section of passports and other official documents which deals with nationality. What do you think about this as one who has researched nationality questions in detail, as a specialist?

[Absattarov:] Such ideas are, to be sure, not born out of hasty consideration, or out of superficial examination of the question. However, I think that it is hasty to attempt to solve complex nationality problems in such a way. Except in extraordinary circumstances, no one disowns his own nationality. Everyone is proud of the achievements of his nationality, its spiritual wealth. Feelings of nationality, national pride are not nationalism. However to forget one's nationality, in a process of "denationalization," is not internationalism. We must understand this Leninist conclusion deeply. I do not believe that by getting rid of the section on nationality in passports, and other official documents, those persons sick with the "illness" of nationalism will suddenly become internationalists. However, if we are talking about education, understanding and persuasion, that is another question entirely.

[Botbayev] You yourself will understand that it was not accidental that we began the interview with this question. Until recent years, this was the catchword of achievement of a meeting in nationality relations, of a gradual solution to nationality questions in our country.

However, today, as we look at things from the point of view of perestroika, many problems have been discovered. It is generally felt today that we have drawn farther and farther away from the Leninist principles. We hope for an exchange of views with you on some aspects of this complicated issue. First, if you would explain the phrase "culture of internationality relations"...

[Absattarov:] The culture of internationality relations—this is a special kind of social relationships, a form for expressing, in the thoughts and actions of the workers, the high level of development of a new kind of nationality relations. It is like a prism for rethinking processes of the development, flourishing and coming together of nationalities, nations and ethnic groups. The internationality relations of proletariat, socialist internationalism, as class, socio-political and moralistic principles, are "vectors" of this culture.

Perestroika in social life places obligatory requirements upon the culture of internationality relationships. Perestroika in internationality relationships means a considerable restructuring of nationality sensitivities, and elimination of bureaucracy. The "mechanism of restraint," noted with concern from the podium of the All-Union 19th Party Congress, is to be overcome. We know that a high level culture of internationality relations does not emerge by itself. For this reason, continuous to its development to continuous has been established as an important principle of the CP.

The working class is that group showing and advancing leading examples of internationality relations culture. As part of its policy, the fraternalization and solidarity interests of workers of various nationalities have been concentrated, and their class sensitivities made into the kernel of an internationalist world view. The culture of internationality relations of the soviet people has been formed, above all, based upon the traditions of the revolutionary Russian working class, and the leading customs of the people of our nation. History has shown that only the working class has the power to overthrow nationality chauvinisms and conservatisms, and to guarantee real solidarity among nationalities. The culture of internationality relations of the working class has moved into the minds of the workers, and reflects the interests of all members of society.

[Botbayev] In this connection, would you touch more on the class character of the culture of internationality relations.

[Absattarov:] Taken from a proletariat point of view, it means to set a good example to all of new and leading concepts, and unyielding struggle against disagreeable manifestations, deformations in the nationality relations areas, and against over-valuation of nationality sensitivities, and their distortion.

When I spoke of the content of the culture of internationality relations, I noted the correlation of the categories "class" and "nationality". The unity of these two categories is dialectical law. However, this does not mean unification of the two categories into a single concept. The basic element in this is class. Understanding the interrelationships of class and nationality feelings from this point of view, guarantees the proper development of the culture of internationality relations, and puts a stop to the influence of nationalism.

Under conditions of perestroika, internationalist qualities are placed in the vanguard of the culture of refined internationality relations. However, certain peculiarities must be remembered in this area: We have stated that internationalism provides the major coloring in the culture of internationality relations. But this does not mean that nationality qualities can be assimilated to one another, or exchanged with internationalism. It is understandable that there should be, within each nationality and nation, a national pride of nationality sensitivities, and pride in material and spiritual riches which the nationality itself has brought to life, and in individual contributions to world civilization, above all contributions to the construction of socialism. Thereby internationalism is narrowed by a nationality base. This comes in contact with the Marxist law to the effect that "true nationality conceptions are always, at the same time, true internationalist conceptions."

The unity of class, internationalist and nationality interests, their appropriate connection within the culture of internationality relations and patriotic feelings, are at an axiomatic level. The achievements in this area are numerous. However, these achievements must not be understood to say that there are no problems in nationality processes. The development of contradictions is something common to all concepts. The most important thing is to look for answers on the spot, to questions posed by life. Ways must be sought to eliminate contemporary problems and unpleasant manifestations, nationality chauvinism and conservatism in economic and social sectors, and morally, to democratize nationality life, and to achieve social equality, and the principle of unity of word and deed.

[Botbayev] We know that in this connection, to be sure, a great deal depends upon the cadre problem.

[Absattarov:] It is not, in my view, a matter of cadre policy, but of internationalist cadre policy. We know well, from the example of our own republic, that forgetting about all-union and supra-national interests, and giving attention to such things as local interest, local association, and connections in the selection and placement of cadres, leads to dangerous results. It was pointed out, in this regard, by O. Suleymenov, for example, in IZVESTIYA: "Each ministry and authority had "Kazakh" and "Russian" positions. There is no need to prove that such manifestations of social injustice lead people to apathy, and self-centeredness. Now, when we

mention the "years of stagnation," there were many things "above criticism," or "which could not be criticized." Thus some persons remained on the list of those wishing improvement of housing for decades. Others, on the other hand, did not have to wait at all and could move as soon as there was a vacancy, when there were not enough kindergartens or hospitals, rest houses and cabins, costing a great deal of money, were being built somewhere else. There was recently an article in one of the national newspapers on one such guest house in Dneprodzerzhinsk, for Leonid Ilich. It was a two-story brick house... On the first floor there was a vestibule, three rooms for women, a kitchen... On the second floor there were a guest room, a billiards room, three [bed]rooms, a garage for three cars, a decorative basin, and bath. The total area of the country estate was 41,161 sq m, the total area of the house 958 sq m, with 665 sq m of useful volume inside (enough for 15 persons). Around it was a large garden. During November of last year the guest house brought in a profit of 120 rubles, but the amount of money needed to maintain it... 41,734 rubles. Our purpose in going into these facts in detail is to show the face of the years of stagnation, and to evaluate how the wool was pulled over the eyes of the people. That such injustices found their reflection also in internationality relations is well known.

At present we have attained hitherto unachieved levels in bringing cadre policy into order. For perestroika, cadres are needed which are clear about class, party and civil aims, which fully understand their own humanitarian and internationalist duties, and which fight untiringly for truth. The foundation for solving the many problems of Kazakhstan, and likewise of our entire nation, lies in strengthening the body of cadres, mobilizing all our powers for the perestroika of internationality relations, and irreconcilable struggle against nationalism, chauvinism, and other unpleasant manifestations, in whatever form.

[Botbayev] In discussing the question of internationality relations, we must concern ourselves with the issue of bilingualism. There are many problems and misunderstandings associated with this issue. It is known that special attention has been devoted to this issue from the first years of the Soviet regime...

[Absattarov:] Analysis of the role of language in the life of the peoples of our nation shows that a broad path has been opened for the peoples of socialism to study and learn each others languages, master them freely and use them in daily life. Today bilingualism is, by and large, perfectly reasonable in nationality republics. It is possible for persons knowing other languages, besides their own mother tongues, to move among the speakers of this language, and acquire the spiritual riches of this other people.

More than 120 nationality languages serve in our nation at present as means of mutual association for peoples. Books are published in 89 languages. Everything has

been done to create conditions favorable to the development of the languages of all nationalities and peoples. If nationality languages do not develop freely, it is not possible for them to develop themselves or enrich each other. This is because language is the primary means of relationship between humans. According to the results of the 1979 All-Union Census, some 112,000 of the 9,394,834 non-Kazakh inhabitants of Kazakhstan spoke Kazakh fluently or considered it their native language. This year's All-Union census will doubtless offer new, valuable information in this area.

In our republic, as is the case for the entire nation, the interest of non-Russian peoples in studying, learning and mastering Russian has been increasing. The Russian language has become a vital necessity for all the Soviet people. In Kazakhstan, for example, more than 72,000 Kazakhs stated that they considered Russian to be their native language and more than 2.5 million other people stated that they spoke Russian fluently, as a second language, according to the 1979 All-Union Census. That is, 52 percent of Kazakhs living in the KaSSR speak Russian fluently. We have learned certain things as well from our sociological research. Some 33 percent of all respondents stated that they spoke Kazakh at home (37.6 percent of respondents were Kazakh), 78.8 percent said they spoke Russian at home (40.5 percent of respondents were Russian), and 4.5 percent said they spoke some other languages. Some 22.3 percent of respondents said that they read literature in Kazakh, 92.8 percent in Russian, and 2.9 percent in other languages. Looking at this data, the Russian language has become a second mother tongue for most.

But be this as it may, it is no secret that there continue to be many problem areas of the bilingualism question up to the present. There are many areas in which criticism cannot [but] be raised regarding the level of teaching the Kazakh language in Russian schools, and the Russian language in Kazakh schools. The shortage of specialists giving lessons in Russian language in outlying Kazakh village schools has begun to be felt. For example, there is a shortage of 470 specialist Russian teachers for nationality schools in Kzyl-Orda Oblast. Recently work to improve these conditions has begun to achieve results.

[Botbayev] What are your views on Kazakh as an official language...

[Absattarov:] There has recently been a great deal of discussion in Kazakhstan about Kazakh as an official language. Varied, sometimes even contradictory points of view have been expressed. Whereas some have said that the languages of peoples mentioned in the names of republics should become official languages, others have supported official bilingualism. A third group sees no need for Kazakh as an official language, but thinks that bilingualism should be developed. There are also those which feel that the language problem must be investigated in full depth in order to achieve a just and effective

solution. If you ask my own views on the subject, I think that the specific conditions present in our republic call for making both Kazakh and Russian equally-empowered official languages.

[Botbayev] How different are Leninist and Stalinist points of view in determining the nationality "shape" of the Soviet Union?

[Absattarov:] In short, while Lenin accepted the new type of state as a union of states with truly equal rights, Stalin attempted to defend the idea of "autonomization," or of having the union republics part of the RSFSR as autonomous components.

V.I. Lenin was a scientist and an organizer, I. Stalin was an administrator. For this reason, they took different approaches in nationality questions. It is well known that I. Stalin played a conspicuous role in developing and propagandizing Marxist-Leninist theory on the nationality question during the years immediately preceding the revolution, and the first years afterwards. At the same time, he made considerable errors which found expression in the guidance of nationality affairs prior to the establishment of the USSR using administrative-managerial methods, and in the reduction of nationality rights. Today it is well known what view Lenin took of such deficiencies. After the death of V.I. Lenin, especially during the 1930s to 1950s, as these unpleasant aspects of Stalinist methods for solving nationality problems gained more and more ground, they resulted in the persecution of entire peoples. All this resulted in a dangerous deformation of socialist nationality relations.

Our duty today is to restore Leninist principles on nationality questions.

[Botbayev] Why is it that most manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism continue to arise among young people?

[Absattarov:] It is to be expected that young people will exhibit their own peculiarities. However, we are wrong if we think the problem is due to this. Above all education and knowledge are deficient. We must encourage each young person to think for himself and to know how to defend their points of view in arguments and discussions. There is a great deal of potential in such an approach. As an example of this, let me offer responses to a questionnaire included with an examination on historical materialism given to third-course students (Kazakh division) attending lectures in philosophy at the Kazakh State University's Philology Faculty. Only 13 of 74 students said that what they wrote was according to a plan thought out in advance, 11 said that they had completed the test according to a general plan, and had answered all the questions, and 16 said that they had answered some of the questions. The remaining students said that they had completed the test without any plan whatever. When we compared answers of those completing the questionnaire and taking the test, it turned out

that those with work plans exhibited deeper knowledge and more logical thinking than the others. Logical thinking makes it possible for students to give well-thought-out answers to questions asked, and to evaluate phenomena correctly. Unfortunately, knowledge of the essentials of logic, something which is a vital necessity, is not taught as a subject at institutions of higher education (except for some humanistic specialties). Because of this, fundamentals of logic must be made a part of middle school programs, and I would like to offer the suggestion that we must teach dialectical logic in more depth at later levels of education.

Life shows how important it is to teach young people to think, and to evaluate the complex processes going on around them properly. I think that one of our biggest deficiencies during the years of stagnation was failure to teach young people to think for themselves. It is clear that persons unable to think for themselves will sacrifice their own interests for state interests, or the interests of their people, and will know only patriotic feeling.

One reason for the appearance of manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism is failure to study carefully and learn from works among the Marxist-Leninist classics dealing with nationality questions.

[Botbayev] This was, to be sure, one source of the apathy of the years of stagnation...

[Absattarov:] Let us look at the results of some sociological research carried out in Kokshetau Oblast to investigate social views. Instead of oblast, rayon and even industrial level management actively participating in perestroika, and its attempting to generate enthusiasm among line workers, many engineer-technicians, officials and managers have exhibited middle level conservatism, and socio-political apathy. This shows that analysis of perestroika in the intellectual system of various groups of such workers has still not completely overcome vestiges of the years of stagnation at every level. However, as the number of supporters of perestroika continues to grow, it is to be expected that manifestations of apathy will slowly give way.

In my view, we must establish especial lecture courses on Marxist-Leninist nationality questions in work collectives, and at educational establishments. At the same time, we must look at the peculiarities of providing internationalist education in families, at kindergarten, and in work collectives, and for new forms and methods.

The problem of struggle with manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, as the culture of internationality relations is refined, in an era of perestroika, is of decisive importance. What are the objective and subjective causes of the existence of the mentioned unpleasant manifestations. They are, first of all, survivals of social and economic forms existing before socialist society. Secondly, they are thinking which lags behind a socialist

way of life. Thirdly, the causes are economic maladjustments, and violations of Soviet law and of the Leninist principles of socialist legality. Fourthly, they are major deficiencies in ideological work and excess. Fifthly, they are the all encompassing ideological influence of the capitalist world, seeking to encourage and promote nationalism, and other unpleasant manifestations, with the aim of creating disunity within our republic, and the peoples of our nation. We must bear these causes and circumstances in mind in struggling against nationalism and chauvinism.

[Botbayev] It was not possible for your discussions to encompass all aspects of the question of nationality relations. Moreover, it would be appropriate for major themes such as the internationalization of the economy, and of the life of our entire society, and the interrelationship of atheism and internationalism, to be the subject of separate interviews. Taking this into account, if you would sum up this discussion by making a statement on the subject "new thinking in internationality relations."

[Absattarov:] From a methodological point of view, as is the case with other sectors of the life of society, what we mean by new political thinking about internationality relations is above all complete restoration of a Leninist point of view, in the truest sense, in the theory and practice of finding solutions of nationality problems. The reason I say this is that for so many years Leninist principles have been violated and distorted in nationality policy. It was established in a resolution of the XIX Party Conference that "perestroyka, democratization and glasnost have revealed these manifestations, and, at the same time, will create the needed conditions for their overthrow by democratic means."

The basis for new thinking in the area of nationality questions, is to accept the need to rid ourselves of insufficient appreciation, as was the case in the past, of the role of nationality questions, of nationality factors in the life of our nation, and the need to consider nationality, and likewise internationalist interests in whatever important decision is made, for whatever sector of society, and thus to think always in terms of them. Even if questions are under consideration which do not have an overt nationality character, we must involve ourselves with them from a position of socialist internationalism.

Rejection of Kazakh as Official Language Proposed

18320405b Alma-Ata ZERDE in Kazakh
No 2, Feb 89 p 6

[Article by engineer Aytan Nyghmetshin: "Do We Need the Kazakh Language?"]

[Text] Recently discussions and arguments over the language issue have increased. What is to be gained by making a mountain out of a molehill, by creating a lot of controversy?

My specialty is that of engineering. I am 32 years old. I have a wife and two children. The language in question is not a problem in our home. My wife grew up in the city, without being exposed to Kazakh at all. When I myself went to the city after completing school, I was unable at first to make progress in my studies, because of my poor knowledge of Russian. I remember my difficulty with Russian well. For that reason I have sent my two children to kindergarten taught in Russian, and later to Russian schools.

Why?

This is because the Russian language is at the core of life today. It is possible, if one does not know Russian, to buy anything in a city store, to send a telegram, to ask for directions, to work, to protect one's interests in a collective, to go to school in middle and higher educational institutions (technical schools in particular), and to feel life a full member of society? In fact, it is not possible. For this reason, thinking of the future of my children, I am teaching them Russian.

It does not matter if my children know Kazakh or not. This changes nothing.

It has been almost two years since the issuing of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee Resolution "On Improving the Teaching and Learning of the Kazakh Language." What has really changed? The number of those wanting to teach their children Kazakh are only a very few. For example, there are a few Kazakh families living among us in Alma-Ata. The number of those speaking Russian is far greater than the number speaking Kazakh. Our children just do not want to speak Kazakh. And, in truth, why should they? Nothing is lost by our not speaking Kazakh.

It seems that some people feel that the Kazakh language should be given the status of an official language. What will be accomplished by this? According to my information, only 20 percent of the Kazakhs living in our republic can speak the Kazakh mother tongue fluently. Think about it. What is to be gained by all the peacock strutting, the much ado about nothing?

Comrade G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee, the sharp-sighted leader of the republic, said, in his answers to the questions of a LITERATURNAYA GAZETA reporter:

"I have had frequent discussions with leading representatives of the Kazakh people on making Kazakh a state language. Most of them have said that they see no value to the Kazakh people in making Kazakh an official language." That is what he said.

In my view he was quite correct. I too have considered whether or not there is a need to make Kazakh an official language. A language which has less and less practical use essentially dies as a language. But is there any need to raise a fuss about it?

I have even thought about the question of whether or not all the minorities living in the Soviet Union (including the Kazakhs) should have their nationalities recorded in their passports. If we were just to write "Soviet Citizen," what then? If all of us together were to go over to the chief device for internationality relations—to the language of internationalism—the Russian language, there would be no controversy, and there would be no ethnic tensions.

New Kazakh Encyclopedia Criticized for Slighting Kazakhs

*18320404a Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN
in Kazakh 2 Mar 89 p 3*

[Review of the third volume of the shorter, "Qazaq SSR" Encyclopedia by D. Kishibekov, corresponding member of the Kazakh Academy of Sciences, doctor of philosophical science, professor: "History of Republic Science"]

[Excerpts] This volume of the shorter Kazakh encyclopedia shows major changes compared to the full, 12-volume encyclopedia. First of all, the headings are concepts and terms connected with Kazakhstan. Secondly, biographical articles are included in the encyclopedia only for science figures who worked in Kazakhstan, or who worked there for some significant period of their lives, or played an active work in the preparation of scientific cadres for Kazakhstan. Thirdly, there are special articles in the shorter encyclopedia not about all sectors of science, but about sectors in which research is being carried out in the KaSSR.

The encyclopedia begins with a review article by M. Aytkhozhin, M. Aliyev and Q. Medewbekov entitled "Science and Scientific Organizations." The article gives a detailed report of the history of science in Kazakhstan from the great medieval thinker Al-farabi to Academician Qanysh Satbayev.

It is clear that the broad reading public can expect new concepts, the latest ideas, and new theories from the shorter encyclopedia. Among the extremely important educational and informative articles of this sort we must include S. Zimanov's article "Law." The article discusses in detail the principle directions of the development of the legal science in Kazakhstan.

Much space is given in the encyclopedia to Marxist-Leninist philosophy, the common methodology of all social and natural sciences.

Among materials written in the spirit of renewal are A. Nysanbayev's article on "Dialectics." A. Nysanbayev gives a very proper evaluation of the place of dialectics in

the age of renewal: "the role of revolutionary dialectics will increase the logic and methodology of thinking in a new manner, and in terms of the practical activities of people under today's complex conditions."

The articles in the encyclopedia also give attention to national questions and internationality relations.

Among articles of high idealistic-political and scientific level in the encyclopedia must be included the articles entitled "World View," "Scientific Communism," "National Liberation Revolution," and "Demography." One of the articles written in a scientific style appropriate to the encyclopedia is the article entitled "Historical Science."

Unfortunately, however, we cannot say that all articles have been written entirely in accordance with the needs of the times. For example, not a single work written by S. Asfendiarov, A. Marghulan and M. Aweyzov, who made major contributions to Soviet oriental studies, is mentioned in the article "Oriental Studies." Likewise, some Kazakhstan orientologists known in the entire Soviet Union are not mentioned.

There are articles in the volume on themes such as "The Human Factor," and "Social Justice," appropriate to an era of renewal. This is a good thing. It would be appropriate, at the same time, to add articles such as "Thinking Anew," "Intensification," and "Democratization" to the Russian-language version of the encyclopedia.

It would also be appropriate to add biographies of all those distinguished scientists who have made contributions to the preparation of cadres in the republic.

The third volume of the shorter encyclopedia appears at a time when revolutionary perestroika, glasnost and democracy are spreading, and is devoted to the history of republic science. It is a work which should hold a place of honor on every bookshelf, in spite of some deficiencies.

Need To Attract, Retain Kazakh Factory Workers *18320404b*

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 8 February 1989 carries on page 3 a 5500 word round table discussion, recorded by Gh. Omarkhanov, editorial worker of the Pavlodar Oblast paper QYSYL TU, and SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN reporter B. Zhanymbetov, on the special problems of working with nationality cadres at the V.I. Lenin imeni Pavlodar Tractor Factory. Participating in the discussions were various plant workers, managers, including Bolat Watayev, deputy chief of the Frame Section, Serik Rayysov, buro chief of the Chief Technology Division, Aleksandr Gorshkov, chief of the Electrical Laboratory, and Aleksandr Khamitov, chief of the Technical Education Division, and Zhengisti Qozhakhmetov, deputy secretary of the union party committee. Discussions

focused, above all, upon the problem of attracting the Kazakh, and other nationality workers, who will constitute the primary source for replenishing the existing, largely Slavic—and rapidly ageing—cadres now running the plant (only 12.5 percent of the plants 23,000 workers are Kazakh), and of keeping them on the job (turnover at the plant was 12.9 percent in 1988, as compared to 1.8 percent in 1987, with the implication that a large percentage of those leaving their jobs are nationality workers—no specific figures are, however, provided). According to discussants, the main reason why Kazakhs and other nationality workers choose not to remain at the plant is failure by plant management to respond to the particular needs and interests of Kazakhs, not only on the job, but in training. It is apparent from remarks made by discussants, moreover, that management takes a poor view of Kazakh workers, regarding them as lazy and unreliable. This is perhaps one reason why so few of them, discussants note, fill upper level positions, technical (Kazakhs have a poor attitude towards technical specialties, however, the Russian discussant complains) and managerial, at the plant. An effort to seek out qualified Kazakh production line workers and promote them to responsible positions is called for as a solution to several problems. First of all, it would interest more Kazakhs in the benefits of a career at the plant (and improve morale). Secondly, such Kazakhs would constitute a role model for others since, discussants point out, Kazakh workers tend to gravitate to Kazakh managers and technicians.

Work of Kazakh Sociology Research Center Detailed

*18320404c Alma-Ata LENINSHIL ZHAS in Kazakh
1 Mar 89 p 2*

[Interview with Sapar Ospanov, instructor of the Sociological Research Center, chief of its Division for Problems of Social Well-being, Cultural and Life, and Iliyas Aytimbetov, chief of its Division for Problems of Socio-class Structure and Demographic policy: "Sociological Research Center"]

[Text] The Sociological Research Center was founded in November of 1988, under the Economics Institute of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences. The Center has two divisions. One is concerned with problems of culture and life, the other with problems of socio-economic class structure and demographic policy. Below are interviews with the heads of the two divisions to acquaint you with what the Sociological Research Center is doing in these two areas, and what its overall goals are.

Sapar Ospanov, instructor of the Sociological Research Center, chief of its Division for Problems of Social Well-being, Culture and Life:—It is a fact that there was, up until now, a sector of the Academy of Sciences Economic Institute investigating social views. What I want to discuss here is how our center is different. Persons investigating social views observe tendencies in political questions, evaluate these tendencies, and make

suggestions. We study the opinions of the people on major events taking place in society. For example, through its function of observing popular attitudes towards the elections of USSR people's deputies, an important concern of our life today, the Sociological Research Center will find out about the unique peculiarities of localities, and interests, desires and thoughts of the people reflecting these peculiarities. More specifically, our purpose is to observe the social circumstances of the inhabitants of a given region of the republic. To this end, we will utilize statistical and factual information regarding that region available locally. When we have assembled data on interests and desires on this basis, we turn over our conclusions to the appropriate authorities. This way of doing things is fundamental to organizations working with facts and is aimed at establishing close connections with local people. The purpose is clear, to investigate and specify the socio-class structure of the republic, demographic processes, and programs for managing the social activism of the people. In the process of our work, we place emphasis on thoughts and suggestions in the area of refining economic, ethnic, legal and humanitarian directions in the management of socio-economic processes in Kazakhstan.

Our program theme for the next five years is entitled: "regional conditions of well-being, culture and life—factors in managing the social activism of individuals." What does this mean? There are three factors for us: 1. people, 2. the well-being, culture and life of people, 3. management. There must be a close connection between these factors. However, local peculiarities have still not been investigated in terms of the connection between these factors. Hitherto, there have only been economic, cultural and ethnographic investigations in these areas. The work has not been carried out in terms of sociology. However, it is not incorrect to think of what we are doing as a scientific experiment. The Sociological Research Center was established through a decision of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and operates according to its assignments.

The areas for our first research are now known. They will focus on the Syr-Darya and Aral regions. We think that it is unnecessary to answer the question as to why these regions were chosen: it is not possible for people to be unconcerned about the fate of the Aral. The Aral will only be protected if we all work together. Research will involve the southern part of Chimkent Oblast, all of Kzyl-Orda Oblast, and the southeastern portions of Aktyubinsk and Gurvey oblasts. In this endeavor, we will make an effort to work in close cooperation with the Committee to Protect the Aral and Lake Balkhash. At the same time, we hope to invite the academies of science of the neighboring Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan republics, which are situated in the vicinity of the Aral, to work jointly with us.

Iliyas Aytimbetov, chief of Sociological Research Center Division for Problems of Socio-class Structure and Demographic policy:—We are in the process of drawing

up a research program on problems of socio-class structure and managing demographic processes. Our purpose and goal is to define research objectives and methods. There are many plans. The most important thing is for us to look at historical reality from a new perspective, from the point of view of the present era of broad changes and to evaluate the dynamic of modern social relationships properly. For example, only the good side of the formation of working classes in Kazakhstan was looked at during the years of stagnation. Nothing whatever was said about the many unpleasant manifestations given rise to by administrative-bureaucratic methods. Thus this process largely shied away from natural science and became deformed.

Administrative-bureaucratic methods have, to this day, created barriers to the fully-developed formation of working classes. Needless to say, the era of perestroika, democracy and glasnost has put an end to such methods. One thing must be remembered in this connection. It is no secret that, as beneficial changes are carried out in production, workers are not feeling these changes in their time free from social labor. Even in their residence halls, workers do not have the possibility of self-government. For example, mixing together of women and men is prohibited in residence halls. In some places, those living in residence halls cannot even invite friends who come to see them to dinner, or even parents or relatives. Due to this, harm is done to a person's morale, interests and self-esteem. Our function is to bring such circumstances to a healthy state. Investigating in detail human qualities, we are evaluating the present state of socio-class relationships and demographic processes, and seeking for ways and methods to overcome the mentioned difficulties, and solve important problems. The most beneficial thing about this is that it is connected with glasnost, and with our finding out about social views, and the activism of us all. We are doing quite a bit of work in this area. We have formed a Social Council on Problems of the Formation of Nationality Working Classes, in cooperation with the Kazakhstan Writers Union. Serving on the council are well-known workers, scientists, party and soviet workers. Last December the council organized a "round table" discussion.

Many kinds of materials will be necessary as we investigate problems of the formation of nationality working classes in detail. One of them, the most important, is information about how the individual becomes a worker. Unfortunately, we have only a very small amount of such material. For this reason, taking advantage of this opportunity, let me make the following suggestion to readers: please write to us about the ways in which you became a worker, the difficulties you encountered on the way, and your complaints. If possible, please furnish specifics about where you live, and where you work. Likewise, please tell us about those who helped you become a worker, those who created problems for you, and for what reasons you did not become a worker. By providing this information, you will assist us not only with your good experience, but will help us to investigate those

using administrative-bureaucratic methods. In short, we believe that your letters will be a help in our joint work to solve problems of the formation of nationality working classes.

High Infant Mortality Ascribed to Environment
18320404d Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIYETI in Kazakh
7 Apr 89 pp 10-11

[Article by Professor Kamal Ormantayev, doctor of medical science, pediatrician: "Why Is Infant Mortality So High?"]

[Text] In the 17 march issue of this year's QAZAQ ADEBIYETI material was published by our special reporter Baqyt Sarbalayev entitled "Friendship? or Hostility?" The primary subject of the article were facts regarding birth control in Beynew Rayon of Guryev Oblast. Several answers were given in the mentioned article to the question of "why some local doctors were involved in such an unacceptable thing." The article seemed to suggest that "The necessity of birth control"(!) in the rayon had grown out of more uncertain conditions of recent years, out of "caution."(!) But what are the real reasons for the uncertainty? In general, what kinds of facts have scientists and specialists made known to us about the sharp increase in infant mortality in our republic in recent years? We recently placed these questions before Kamal Ormantayev, doctor of medical science, famous pediatrician, and asked him to share his thoughts on the subject with us.

As quoted in the speech of USSR Minister of Health Ye. I. Chazov before the International Congress of Physicians, our Khirghiz countrymen, closely connected with ourselves, are in position 68 in the world in infant mortality. Our Uzbek and Tadjik elder brothers are in position 74, while our Turkman cousins are in position 77 (MEDITSINSKAYA GAZETA, 19.8.88). In the case of we Kazakhs, on the other hand, it has frequently been said and written recently that, even if our name was not mentioned, and no position assigned to us, we have no reason to be satisfied with our situation in this area. If our infant mortality rate does not exceed those of the above mentioned republic, it is little less. Why is mortality of infants under one year in our country five times that of Japan? Why is the rate two-and-a-half times higher than in the United States, West Germany or England? (MEDITSINSKAYA GAZETA, 19.10.88). In my mind, the primary reason for the rapid increase in the infant mortality rate in our region is due to the negative consequences suffered by human beings as a result of their exposure to major environmental changes. This hypothesis is not just so much talk. it is a scientific hypothesis based upon what we ourselves see in our own lives, and read in the papers.

"In recent years the amount of carbon-dioxide gas in the atmosphere has increased by 20-30 percent. This has resulted in a sharp warming of the climate, and, in my view, may mean unparalleled disaster for mankind as a

result. If previously, major changes on the earth were due solely to natural processes, such disasters today have now come under human control." So stated Professor S.P. Kapitsa (MEDITSINSKAYA GAZETA, 13.1.89). And thus it is so. We need only mention the example of the retreat of the Aral, and its disappearance from the face of the earth. S.P. Kapitsa did not use the example of our Aral Sea in vain. He has recognized the fact that the Aral tragedy is not just a tragedy of the Kazakhs, Qaraqalpaqs, Uzbeks and Turkman, but it is a severe tragedy for all mankind. The sadness, growing out of the Aral disaster, creates dangerous circumstances not just for the peoples who live around it. Because of this we have been considering, understanding, researching and discussing the gradual origins of the problem, and how the tragedy has developed. Indeed, there is no doubt whatever that the fundamental of all fundamental causes for the increase of infant mortality in Central Asia and Kazakhstan is the Aral tragedy. How can we explain to later and future generations the fact that, through our civilization's reckless exploitation of the achievements of our era (treatment of crops with chemicals, building reservoirs and digging canals, etc.), we have brought the Syr-Darya and Amu-Darya basins—throughout the centuries our native domains, famous as the golden cradle for the growth of the peoples of central Asia—and likewise the Aral region, to such a state. One that is causing, as it were, the very deaths of the young children sprung from its womb? How can we explain the fact that we, with our own hands, have put our fortunate land into such a pitiful state in around half a century, a land which our ancestors cherished through the centuries as if it were a paradise, and loved like themselves?...

Since I am a pediatrician, I am unable to stand idly by in the face of ecological disaster in Kazakhstan. The reason is that any ecological change, above all, harms the health of children. The organism of the child is recognized as a very sensitive barometer of ecological change. One of the primary causes of the increase of the infant mortality rate is the pollution of the air with every kind of chemical substances, production wastes, poisonous gases and various harmful dusts.

Each year storms with 75 million tons of salt are raised from the dry bed left behind by the Aral in its retreat of up to 100 versts. These storms close at hand, extend to all of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, and more distantly, to the Arctic Ocean in the north, and the Ganges River in the south. How can infant mortality not be high in a region in which salt falls from the skies in this manner, where salt occurs in unsafe quantities in the air they breathe, in the water they drink, in the food they eat, and even in the white milk sucked by the children? Excessive levels of salt in the bodies of the newly born and infants damage circulation within the entire organism, and thereby weaken the functioning of the heart, the lungs, the kidneys, the liver, and the central nervous system. This weakens the entire immune system of the red, shriveled infant, still not fully formed, and makes it sickly, emaciated. Such children in particular often come

down with infectious intestinal illnesses and respiratory infections. This is one primary reason why births are being limited. This is the reason for frequent miscarriages by pregnant women, for stillbirths, and for premature babies.

Wherever in Kazakhstan you look you will find areas hit by ecological difficulty. It is true. Our republic has all the elements of Mendeleev's Periodic Table of the Elements. However, what we read about daily in the press now is how we are mining these rich resources, how we are enriching them, and how we are putting them to use, what the condition is of the factories enriching and concentrating the ores, and what damage they are causing to the environment. For example, 4,000 tons of sulfur-dioxides are put into the air each month (48,000 tons a year) just due to the burning of fuel oil (mazut) to operate the Dzhambul State Rayon electrical Station alone. Moreover, it has been observed that the phosphorous plant in the same city issues 35,500 tons of harmful dusts into the air each year, and other industrial establishments there 165,000 tons. The death of all the animals and plants of the area, as a result of the awful things which are being done, has begun to place before mankind with unparalleled ecological damage. It has been observed that, due to excessive tooth development, cattle and horses are now unable to eat grass. If these poisonous dusts have such an influence upon large livestock, how can they not adversely influence the people, including new-born babies, living in the area!?

It is very disturbing that such conditions are to be found in Guryev City itself. Last year, for example, 1251.4 tons of harmful residues flew into the air at the Guryev Chemical Plant. Among these residues were substances such as sulfur-anhydrides, ammonia, iso-propyl-butyl distillates. Likewise, the oil processing plant and chemical factory are issuing 50,000 tons of harmful residues into the air each year. The situation in Chimkent city, which has lead, cement, chemical-pharmacology plants, is likewise unsatisfactory. And what about ecological conditions in seriously polluted Alma-Ata City and Oblast, where 72,000 tons of smoke mixed with ash, and harmful gases are raised into the skies each year, and in Pavlodar oblast, where smoke belches from the smoke stacks, reaching to the heavens, of the Ekibastuz thermo-electrical station, where harmful substances, mixed with ash, "float about."

Another reason for the increase of the mortality rate for babies and infants is the water supply system. If we look at the condition of sources of water in areas in which infant mortality is rising (in truth this question is one which needs careful scientific investigation), it frightens us to death when we discover that the rivers and lakes, the springs and subterranean waters, used by the people for their daily drinking water, have been polluted to a level intolerable for human beings. The amount of poisonous substances and microbes causing every kind of infectious disease has increased 10-fold in waters feeding into the Syr-Darya or Amu-Darya, or in waters of the

withdrawing rivers themselves. This is beginning to cause direct damage to the health of people living in the area. For example, quantities of DDT and hexa-chlorides, substances extremely dangerous to human beings, have increased to 50-times acceptable levels in the waters of the Syr-Darya. Whereas use of these substances has been totally prohibited abroad, we still continue to use them.

Likewise, incidence of typhoid fever in the Aral region (Aral and Qazaly rayons) per 100,000 persons is 4.5-times above the oblast average, and 37 times above the republic average. Increases in contagion rates of infectious diseases among children aged up to 14 for the last five years are as follows: typhoid fever, up from 34.5 to 43.9 percent, paratyphoid, up from 29.1 to 62 percent, salmonella, up from 70.5 percent to 73.1 percent, liver disease, up from 69.9 percent to 81.3 percent. Moreover, some 35 to 40 percent of water located at places along the Syr-Darya and Amu-Darya Rivers where people get their drinking water consists of waste waters used in industry, and sewage waters from cities. As a result, it has been observed in Syr-Darya water that the microbe called "rod-shaped" has increased one-thousand times more than normal. Other, similar microbes have increased 104-times. Among these microbes causing infectious typhoid, dysentery, paratyphoid and infectious hepatitis predominate in number.

Now let us turn our attention to Lake Balkhash, which, with one-half fresh water, and one-half mineralized, is one of the world's oddities, and occupies a special position in the Kazakhstan natural environment, in our economy, and in our national wealth. In just a year, 23,000 tons of oxidizing light organic substances, 8,000 tons of mineral nitrogen, 5,000 tons of fluorine, 2,000 tons of iron, 1,500 tons of calcium, 70 tons of mineral phosphorous, nearly 60 tons of propanide, and 3.4 tons of di-chloranelene, ordroma and other poisonous substances flows into Lake Balkhash via the Ili River alone (BILIM ZHANE ENGBEK, No 5, 1988). And what is the source of these poisonous substances in the Ili River? They did not fall from the skies. It is not difficult to surmise that all are the residues of mineral fertilizers and poisonous chemicals, over-applied, in hopes of obtain a very rich harvest, to the planted fields of Alma-Ata Oblast, located at the sources of the Ili. Is it not possible that there are still other sources of Ili water pollutants?

The third cause of increased infant mortality, in my view, is deterioration of the quality of the food which we place on our tables each day, to drink and eat. I have reasons for my assertion. We all heard what fraternal Uzbek poet M. Salikh stated in his speech in January of this year to the Plenum of the USSR Writers Union in Moscow: "With us, 100 of every 1,000 newborn infants die. The health of many our young people is poor, they are weak and unfit for military service. This is all due to the results of eco-disaster. Try to find a scrap of healthy land in Uzbekistan not polluted by poisonous chemicals,

or a drop of water that has not been poisoned" (LITER-ATURNAYA GAZETA, No 4, 25.1.89). This sadness which our fraternal Uzbeks are suffering, I think, is also falling upon us these days. This is the gospel truth. It seems today that there is not a bit of healthy land on the body of mother nature, which for centuries has cherished animals and humans like a mother. Everything has been poisoned. F.T. Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee on Environmental Protection, has stated, noting the greater harm than benefits from applying poisonous chemicals to the land, that "If we care about our future generations, if we make it our goal to bring mother nature back to a good state of being for them, we must, avoid destroying its health, and, to the greatest degree possible, cease using poisonous chemicals." (KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, 8.11.88). We agree with these words. The reason: is it not true that, with the aim of improving yields, and increasing output, we have applied to agricultural steppe and mountain lands, thousands upon thousands of tons of mineral fertilizers, and here and there pesticides and cholorphos-butyp hoses, all of which sink into the dark earth, poisoning it. Spring is arriving, and we are beginning the growing season. As our eyes go up to spraying aircraft, belching "medicines" upon the fields, we rejoice that "the earth is being fertilized, that the harvest will be great." In so doing we are rejoicing to no purpose. We are not aware as we rejoice, watching the spraying, that the other poisonous chemicals, mixed with the food for those accursed fields, exercise a gradual influence upon human beings, and upon the plant world, very slowly poisoning, and very slowly bringing death.

Last year one of our Uzhgorod specialists (MEDITSIN-SKAYA GAZETA, 30.9.88) wrote that residues of pesticides were dominate in the composition of medicinal herbs collected from the environment. Our famous specialist, instead of making an absolute statement to the effect that "the responsible organizations know the damage that pesticides are causing human beings." and that "they must not be used at all," expressed great amazement that quantities ave increased still further above previous levels. It is true, see for yourself: whereas in 1982 quantities of pesticides in potatoes were 80 mg/kg, in 1988 they had reached 250 mg/kg. For cabbage, quantities had increased from 150 mg/kg to 500 mg/kg, for tomatoes from 60 mg/kg to 150 mg/kg. After consuming food of this sort, how can our children not be poisoned, and not die?

The present is the era of glasnost. We must speak the complete truth, without concealing anything, without flinching. Only then will justice flourish. Truth and justice, without both together we cannot live. There is, to be sure, a Kazakh proverb: "If you conceal an illness, you announce a death." If, just like the proverb says, we gloss over the problem, claiming everything is fine, and the way it should be, when tomorrow our children lie dead, never having been born from their mothers, or are born brain-damaged, or with damaged arms or legs, hearts, lungs, bowels, kidneys, livers or sex organs, what will be

the fate of later generations? We all heard distinguished Kazakh writer, USSR state prize laureate Abdizhamil Nurpeyisov when he stated before the All-Union Plenum of the Writers Union: "The Semipalatinsk region, for us like Yasnaya Polyana, is a very fortunate, very honored land of our people, which has given us the great Abay, Aweyzov, and Shakarim. We can no longer go to it freely." We heard this, and thought about his words deeply. Just as Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy, beloved figure of the Russian people, a gifted writer eagerly read by the entire world, is dear to us all, so our Abay, and our Aweyzov, and our Shakarim is dear to we Kazakhs. And you must be aware of how much the native land of the great Tolstoy, the Yasnaya Polyana, is esteemed, protected like the eyes, waited on, and attended to zealously. We love your spirit. Descendants of the Russian people of the 25th-30th centuries will offer a thousand thanks to today's parents. But what about us? What are we doing? In our case it seems as if underground nuclear testing in the Semipalatinsk region must stop. We think it proper that we investigate in detail, on the spot where the tests are taking place, what harmful influence these nuclear weapons and tests are having on the environment—on air, water, the oil, flora, fauna and human beings, among them pregnant women and children, and that the results of these investigations be made known to the people through the press. This is a time when the movement to halt the manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons is gaining ground in the entire nation, by Soviet government initiative. If we join our voices with those of the rest of the people of the world, by offering the suggestion to higher authorities concerning the need to close the polygon in Kazakhstan, that is, in the Semipalatinsk area, this will be conceived of as our real contribution to the peace movement, while at the same time we struggle against ecological disaster. How many "closed," "secret" production establishments operate in Kazakhstan? But one secret is unknown, and that is the question of how much damage is being cause to the health of the people of the area by the "closed" production establishments?... An article recently appeared in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA (11.1.89) complaining about the proposal we have made regarding taking back wastes from radioactive substances used in nuclear power stations in foreign countries, and storing them on our own lands. If this is to be the case, it will be extremely harmful to the health of the people. In fact, the harmful effect upon the environment of such radioactive residues will last for a thousand, even a million years. How clever! Think about it! What will happen if we mix the radioactive wastes produced by many scores of nuclear power stations in our own country, with those returned from foreign countries? Will we become healthier from digging our own graves? The question logically arises: "Where will those radioactive wastes be taken for storage?" Thus, if we begin the struggle in advance, by looking for ways to prevent disaster—instead of looking for a solution after the paint has dried, and disaster has already taken place, it will be beneficial for the health of human beings, for the fate of future generations, and for the ecology of our nation.

Deterioration of the environment shows up the very first in pregnant women. Such women necessarily become anemic. They weaken, their appetites diminish, and on top of that, their ability to protect themselves from the millions and millions of microbes filling the outside environment deteriorates, and thereby the pregnant women fall prey to infectious disease of every sort. Is something unexpected that poisoned children should emerge from parents poisoned by a natural environment which is itself poisoned? If the child in the poisoned mother's womb, first of all, is affected negatively as the health of its mother declines, it, secondarily, is also affected negatively in connection with poisoning of the environment (air, water food). Under such circumstances pregnant women by and large suffer miscarriages before their full-term. And if they do not suffer miscarriages, they must spend more than half of their pregnancies in Alma-Ata hospitals. Most of the time they give birth prematurely, in the seventh or eighth month. The vast majority of such children, even if they are born, die, unable to stand up to life in a poisoned world. The reason is that if the environment is so excessively poisoned when the child is in the womb of the mother, the organism of the mother takes all the burdens upon itself, and strives to overcome them itself, and thus does not pass on the poison to the red, shriveled baby floating in her womb. On top of this the organism of the fetus which appears in the body of the poisoned woman, may possibly be subject to contagion by every kind of human disease. This is due to the ill effects of ecological difficulty acting externally and internally from the time it begins its development, as a complete life unifying the genetic materials of father and mother. Such children, even on the day that they are born healthy, full term, may be infected internally with every kind of disease, and come to the world defective, cripple or retarded. If harmful ecological factors—be they tons upon tons of salt flying up from the bottom of the Aral, the butyphoses being sprayed upon the cotton fields, the mineral fertilizers, being used in excess, and the pesticides being applied to fields, properly or improperly, explosive substances ruining the air, and dusts which have spread after the testing of nuclear weapons, poisonous sulfur gases being released into the air from the Qarashyghanaq Oil-Gas Region—continue to have a harmful affect upon the nervous system and organism of a child which has just left the womb, and only now begun to establish itself, only now begun to develop, there is no doubt that it will necessarily become a cripple. If this is not due to one of these causes, then another. It is possible that such children will be born with a cleft palate, without arms and legs at all, or autistic or with defective brains, hearts, lungs, digestive systems, bowels, livers or spleens. All children born with such problems must receive medical treatment or, after a time, be operated on soon. Everything about them comes into the hands of our surgeons and doctors. However, the operation may be successful or unsuccessful, depending upon the degree of the problem, or illness. For this reason, we cannot say that we can

save the lives of all children born sickly, or with deficiencies through operations, or through medical treatment. These are things outside of our control.

Defective children needing operations are treated by surgeons. Those born with disease, and not needing operations, are mostly treated by pediatricians. In addition to the problems which surgeons can see on the bodies of most children born in an area of eco-disaster, we must remember that there are thousands of somatic (treated by pediatricians and not needing operations) problems and deficiencies unseen by the eye, but which are illness due to damage at the cell or molecular level.

Something else must be remembered. It has been observed that children living in areas which have suffered ecological damage not only are born ill, with deficiencies and weaknesses, but at the same time are born with dangerous (genetic) defects. These are passed on from family to family. Are carried on from one generation to the other, weaken the race, and alter the species. For example, A. Ayriyan, doctor of medical science, USSR state prize laureate, stated, after examining children in several rayons of Armenia, that the number of birth defects, and of autistic children born has increased in the last 10-15 years. Likewise, there is the frightful news that the number of stillborns in these rayon, the number of children dying soon after birth, and the number of children born sickly has increased all out of proportion. It is my feeling that all of this is due to the destruction of the natural environment. The defects mentioned above occur frequently among children of parents working in enterprises frequently using poisonous chemicals in the fields in particular. Among these chemicals are 2,5 di-chlorophenoacetic acid, chlorophos and metaphos, substances that are very strong mutagens, agents bringing about (genetic) changes weakening the race (MEDITSINSKAYA GAZETA, 7.9.88).

To conclude, if we do not as a unified people struggle against the ecological calamity which is the cause for the deaths of thousands upon thousands of destroyed children, it may turn out that we will be unable to gain control over a disaster which develops more and more each passing day, and spreads.

We must decrease infant mortality, not through reducing the birth rate, or preventing births, but, on the contrary, through eliminating causes of this infant mortality arising from the above mentioned ecological calamities. This is a matter of humanitarianism, of citizenship.

Bashkir Water Reservoir Project Challenged
18000899 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian
26 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent M. Merzabekov: "Without a Minute's Respite. Builders of Bashkir Reservoir Hope To Forestall Ecological Appraisal"]

[Text] SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA has recently published several articles about the Bashkir Reservoir and the dubious purposes of its construction ("Why Drown the

River in a Sea?"—28 October 87; "The Project Is Unsound, Construction Continues"—7 June 88). By the time the public had caught on, the construction was already in full swing—yet without an approved design or ecological appraisal of it. Statements in the mass media against the project by scientists of Bashkiria only served to egg on departmental and regional defenders of the project. They were in a hurry to "pound the stakes" in as deep as possible and push the earth around in order to forestall the appraisal. And it has to be said that they were rather successful. While articles were being written and critical speeches made, the project "advanced" by more than 120 million rubles. The base of the 62-meter dam, capturing the Belaya like a noose, is rising higher every day.

Public statements against this wasteful, irresponsible treatment of natural resources have shown that people's disorganized, purely emotional expression of their desires have lacked sufficient argumentation. And the first attempts at non-departmental ecological assessments of major economic projects have manifested insufficient methodological and legal thoroughness. This is understandable: Our "code of legal procedures" is just beginning to take shape. This is probably one of the main reasons for the long, drawn-out examination of the Bashkir Reservoir Project.

Let us recall that the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Ecology of the Volga Basin conducted an ecological appraisal of this project at the initiative of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. The Academic Council came to an unequivocal conclusion that the project is not consistent with its main purpose—environmental protection—and is ecologically unsound. Exactly one year ago it was recommended that the project be halted. The RSFSR Ministry of Reclamation and Water Resources and the leadership organs of the Bashkir ASSR disputed the commission's conclusions. The project was submitted for examination to the appraisal commission of the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection.

The SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent was able to attend one of the meetings in the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection, which was participated in by project planners as well as representatives of party, soviet, and economic organs of the Bashkir ASSR. The reasons for the delay in the appraisal were also brought up. It turns out that the authors of the project and the advocates of the reservoir have been "throwing in" more and more new materials that have to be studied and evaluated. This representative conference, in fact, was convened because of a letter from the Bashkir ASSR Council of Ministers, signed by its chairman M. P. Mirgazyamov, and a note from the project's chief engineer V. N. Tsetskhladze of the State Institute for the Project Planning of Water Management in the Southern Regions of the RSFSR (Rostov-on-Don) under the RSFSR Ministry of Reclamation and Water Resources.

Both documents are in favor of the project. There is probably nothing fundamentally new in the authors' arguments. But here's what merits attention.

The original purpose of building the artificial sea was protection of the environment—long-term regulation of the water flow to clean the river and supply water to industry in southern Bashkiria. But as time passed, quite a different function of the reservoir has come to be paramount—irrigation, a purpose which was not emphasized at first. So the letter from the government of Bashkiria argues mainly in favor of urgent irrigation needs. It also refers to the fact that the RSFSR Ministry of Reclamation and Water Resources is presently working out the technical-economic substantiation for a major irrigation system to be supplied by withdrawals from the Bashkir Reservoir. According to preliminary estimates, the construction of it will cost a billion rubles. That's over and above the half billion for the construction of the reservoir.

Now let's turn to Comrade Tsetskhladze's note. "In order to make an objective ecological and economic assessment of the project, the appraiser must perceive its essence," he writes. "And it can be viewed in different ways: a bird's-eye view, from the top of a hill, or from a mouse's hole—that is, with varying degrees of approximation." From his further statements it is clear that the author of the note ascribes to himself the bird's-eye view, while the appraisers have the perspective of a mouse. "The authoritative specialists who have been invited to make the appraisal are, as a rule, educated readers of the project and that's all. Yet there are those who think the appraisers are better informed and are assessing the project more correctly...." All these passages have come about just because many of the members of the commission made no secret of their critical attitude toward the project.

Unfortunately, the five-hour discussion at the meeting was at times more like a skirmish than an exchange of ideas on substance. It also took a lot of time to explain the technical details of the project, which clearly should have been examined long before the meeting. It was vexing that the discussion did not add anything to the analysis of the ecological qualities of the project. What is certain, however, is that the meeting again delayed the drawing of a final conclusion. Which is, incidentally, what the advocates of the project are striving for.

Meanwhile, earth-moving operations on the project are moving ahead full force, and the social aspect of the project has been pushed into the background.... Here is what V. N. Garzhanov, head of the Bashgidrostroy Trust, reported to us:

"We are working at a shock-work pace, around the clock in four shifts, without a minute's respite."

His confidence in his immunity to punishment is simply astonishing. Having started on the project before it was approved, they are going on with it without ecological appraisal.... For how long?

And now the question of whether the water is needed for irrigation. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA has already cited arguments against this. Let us now add the opinion of Candidate of Biological Sciences G. F. Galimov, senior scientific associate in the Bashkir Department of the Urals Scientific-Research Institute of Water Resources:

"The results of our investigations enable us to declare confidently that any return on irrigating these lands will be low. The soil will quickly become salinated, because the water in the Belaya is heavily mineralized, and within five to seven years after irrigation is started a saline layer will inevitably form under the arable stratum. And we're talking here about the best chernozems in the republic. Furthermore: The minerals leached out of the soil will salinize the ground water, leading to further pollution of the Belaya and Urshak rivers, and eventually the water in them will become unfit for irrigation. Without annual flooding, the dried-out bottom land will also gradually begin to be salinized and be lost to agriculture. It is time, finally, to state clearly that building the reservoir, far from assuring economic benefits and ecological health to Bashkiria, poses the threat of untold calamities."

The voice of the public in the autonomous republic is being raised more and more actively against the dangerous project. Here are some of the latest reports:

F. V. Zolotarev, deputy chairman of the Salavat Gorkom: "A session of the City Soviet that was held here passed a resolution declaring the construction of the Bashkir Reservoir to be ecologically unsound."

Rafael Nazarov, first secretary of the Salavat Komsomol Gorkom: "By decision of the Komsomol Gorkom Plenum, we conducted a joint public rally, 'Ecology and Health,' concerning problems of the Bashkir Reservoir. We voted unanimously to instruct the people's deputies to call for immediate cessation of the project and to submit that request to the government."

G. M. Arslanov, editor of the newspaper STERLITAMAKSKIY RABOCHIY: "We held a meeting of the editors of the city and rayon newspapers of the southern district of the autonomous republic, where we discussed the situation on the Belaya. Opinions were almost unanimous in favor of an immediate halt to the project. We proposed setting up a council to deal with the ecological problems of 'Agidel' (That is the Bashkir name of the Belaya) under the board of directors of the Bashkir Journalists Union. Our editorial board organized a center for ecological information in the southern industrial

zone. A combined special edition of the six newspapers has been published to publicize the disaster threatening the Belaya."

Here are more reports: A conference of the city environmental protection society was held in Meleuz, and a rally was held in the assembly hall of Bashkir State University in Ufa.... Everywhere, people are talking about the reservoir that is being built. Here is a point that was raised in one of the resolutions: "The Bashkir ASSR Supreme Soviet should review the question of the personal responsibility of members of the government of the autonomous republic who blocked attempts to halt construction until the decision of the appraisal was taken and exerted pressure on the members of the appraisal commission during the course of its work."

An initiative group has been formed in Ufa to create a committee to save the Belaya, constituting a regional chapter of the Social Committee to Save the Volga.

From the Editors:

In publishing this latest report about the project, the editors hope that the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection is aware of who benefits from these endless delays in making decisions: the builders of the project, advocates of "prestigious" seas, and defenders of a spend-and-spend economy. So far, the fundamental issue—whether the Bashkir Reservoir is to be or not to be—is immersed in deliberately heated debates, and later on it could wind up being drowned in the sea itself.

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